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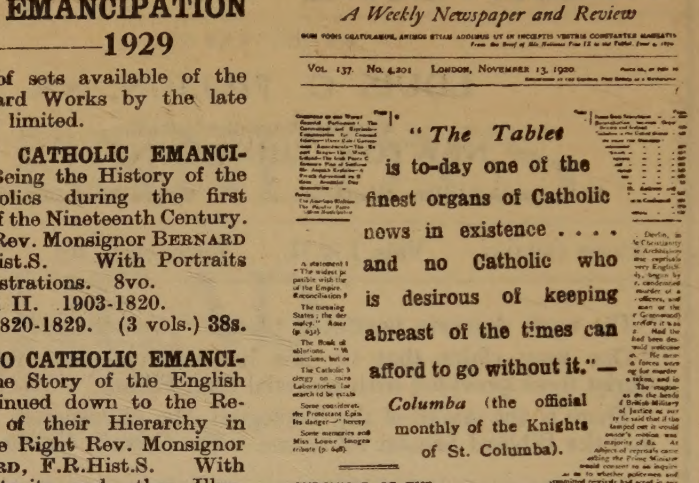
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STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

JUNE 1929

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POPE PIUS XI[1]

BY JOSEPH E. CANAVAN, S.J.

ACHILLE RATTI was born at Desio, a thriving town in the great plain of Lombardy, on May 31, 1857. His father at the time was manager of a silk factory which, some years subsequently, went bankrupt, whereupon Signor Ratti joined the firm of Gadda at Pertusella and became Managing Director of it. The Rattis came from the country at the foot of the Alps, where their genealogy can be traced in the parish registers of Rogeno back to the early decades of the seventeenth century. As a boy Achille Ratti spent his holidays with an uncle, a respected parish priest, whose parish lay under those mountains which were to provide him with such vigorous refreshment on later holidays from the exacting routine of difficult studies. During these vacations the boy began the series of mountaineering expeditions which culminated years afterwards in the memorable ascents of Monte Rosa and Mont Blanc.

After the usual course at the Diocesan Seminary, Achille Ratti went to Rome, where he was ordained on December 20, 1879. He showed such promise that his superiors set him aside for higher studies at the Gregorian University where he remained till 1882, obtaining his degree of Doctor of Canon Law. In the same year he became as well a Doctor of Theology and of Philosophy.

During his student days in Rome Achille Ratti had opportunities of observing how ineffectually the Law of

[1] Wilfrid Parsons: *The Pope and Italy.* (America Press. 1929. pp. 134). D. Giuseppe Frediani: *Pio XI.* (Roma: Marchesi. 1929. L. 7). A. Novelli: *Pie XI. Achille Ratti,* 1857-1922. Traduit de l'Italien. (Maison de la Bonne Presse. 1928. 5 fr.). René Fontenelle: *S. S. Pie XI.* (Bloud et Gay. 1928. 4 fr. 75). Friedrich Ritter von Lama: *Papst Pius XI.* Sein Leben und Wirken. (Augsburg: Haas & Grabherr. 1929. M. 8). Yves de la Brière: *La Question romaine. La Solution de la Question romaine.* (Giraudon. 1929. 1 fr. 25 each).

Guarantees safeguarded the independence and protected the dignity of the Holy See. On a night in March, 1881, a Roman mob behaved in a disgraceful manner while the body of Pius IX was being borne from its resting-place in St. Peter's to its tomb in San Lorenzo outside the walls. The Papal attendants had the greatest difficulty in preventing the coffin being thrown into the river, and many of them were injured in the riot. The Law of Guarantees, it was apparent, when administered by a Government out of sympathy with the sentiments and teaching of the Church, could bear a very liberal interpretation.

On his return to his own diocese of Milan Dr. Ratti was appointed Professor of Theology and of Sacred Eloquence in the Diocesan Seminary. When a vacancy occurred on the staff of the Ambrosian Library in 1888, he applied for the post and was elected. Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, brother of the great St. Charles, had founded the Library in 1609 in order to encourage Italian scholarship, and in this renowned institution Dr. Ratti worked for the following twenty-six years. He devoted himself chiefly to historical studies—hagiography, bibliography, archaeology—bearing upon the Ambrosian Church. His works include the "Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis" in 3 volumes, the "Missale Ambrosianum Duplex," the history of the library of the famous monastery of Bobbio whose MSS. after the dispersion had found their way in large numbers into the Ambrosian, and many monographs. In all there are about sixty publications in his name, the output not impressive in bulk but full of exact, painstaking and original research. While his scholarship was minute, even German in its thoroughness, the versatility of his learning saved him from taking narrow views. He was historian, linguist, palaeographist, literary critic and philosopher by turns : a wide range of accomplishments which enabled him to form large and generous opinions on the meaning of history. He travelled from time to

time in order to consult MSS in other libraries or to acquire additions for his own, meeting in the course of these outings the most famous scholars of the age. And when the Ambrosian was enlarged, decorated and rearranged in 1905-1907 he showed remarkable administrative talents. Consequently when his friend and superior, Monsignore Ceriani, died, Dr. Ratti succeeded him as Prefect of the Ambrosian.

Called to Rome by Pope Pius X in 1914 he was appointed Vice-Prefect of the Vatican Library, and just before the War broke out, he represented the Vatican at the centenary celebrations in honour of Roger Bacon at Oxford. In the summer of this year Father Ehrle, the Prefect of the Vatican Library, resigned and Monsignor Ratti succeeded him. Here, as in the Ambrosian, he gave freely of his time and knowledge to all who came to the library, especially to the young and inexperienced; and his impartiality during the War towards the subjects of the belligerent nations was acknowledged by all. In May 1918 the quiet unassuming librarian, well-known indeed in certain learned circles, but unknown to the persons who made the history of their times, was, to the surprise of the world at large, appointed by Benedict XV Apostolic Visitor to Poland. The choice did not come as a surprise, however, to those in close touch with the Vatican, for they had noticed how often the Cardinal Secretary of State consulted the erudite librarian. Nor did it surprise those who were acquainted with his career. They knew that Cardinal Ferrari, the saintly Archbishop of Milan, had consulted and employed him in delicate matters; that the clergy of Milan held him in the highest esteem; that he had, when his duty required it, dealt with the civil authorities firmly and tactfully; that the readers who frequented the Ambrosian and Vatican Libraries were loud in praise of his grave kindness and equanimity; that on the hot questions of the hour, which roused such violent passions in others, his judgment

was always deliberate, large, calm and sensible; that he was an exemplary priest, very strict in attending to his religious duties, and very zealous for the sanctification of souls.

Monsignore Ratti, then, without any special previous training for the work, stepped out of the academic peace of the Vatican Library straight into the vexed world of diplomacy, indeed, into one of its most distracted and difficult places. The present was perilously agitated, the future dark with anxious misgivings. The Polish Bishops, therefore, feeling more free in movement and speech now that the heavy hand of Russia had been lifted, petitioned Benedict XV to send a Papal Representative to examine the state of affairs, to reorganise the religious life of the people, and to provide, as well as might be, against the possible future inroads of Russia.

The Visitor Apostolic arrived in Warsaw at the end of May in time to take part in the ceremonies of Corpus Christi. For the remaining months of the year he travelled extensively through his province and listened sympathetically to all opinions. He had to be circumspect in speech and action, since, among other things, the Germans and Austrians still occupied the country. He was so tactful and conciliatory that in the following year the young National Government, when asking the Holy See for a Nuncio, suggested Monsignore Ratti as the person it would most willingly accept. Both requests were granted; and Monsignore Ratti was nominated Archbishop of Lepanto and consecrated in the Cathedral of Warsaw on October 29, 1919.

Poland in 1919 was a country just liberated from long and vexatious foreign control. For more than a century there had been three different governments in Poland, pursuing divergent policies; and as a result there was no common administrative tradition among the groups now at last united into a nation. The Poles, moreover, were not on the best of terms with their neighbours, fancying

that they had not received the treatment they deserved at the hands of the victorious Allies, and that others had outwitted them when the spoils of war were distributed. Party passion, in consequence, ran high, and the Government was young. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Nuncio's days were busy and anxious. In Lithuania, in Silesia, and in other bordering countries there were large groups of Poles, and the Nuncio had to be prudent in dealing with the complicated ecclesiastical questions which were referred to him. His main tasks were to promote peace both in Poland itself and in Central Europe, and to negotiate a Concordat between Poland and the Holy See. These were incredibly difficult tasks. It was hard work to keep the peace among peoples who had grown accustomed to war, who nursed old grievances and were acutely sensitive about all kinds of political and ecclesiastical issues. But he succeeded in doing so, even perhaps beyond his own most sanguine hopes. Similarly, it was not easy to set on a satisfactory basis the relations between Church and State in a country where till recently there had been three different systems of ecclesiastical administration. Nevertheless, in two years the Nuncio prepared the way so prudently that after his return to Italy his labours resulted in a Concordat which is one of the most interesting and original instruments of the kind.

On April 21, 1920, he left Warsaw for Rome, but he was back on 27th. His hurried return was due to the fact that the Bolshevik armies had broken through on the Dwina and then in enormous force turned the flank of the Polish armies on the Dnieper. The Poles retreated, losing men, munitions, and nearly all their heavy artillery. One after the other Minsk, Wilno, Grodno fell into the hands of the enemy. The Nuncio paid a flying visit to Silesia where a plebiscite was imminent, as he had been appointed High Ecclesiastical Commissioner for the plebiscite in this region. The second visit which he

intended to make shortly was postponed by the rapid march of the Russians on Warsaw.

He sent away the archives of the Nunciature; the Polish Government moved theirs, together with many Departments of State, further to the West. The Diplomatic Corps came day by day to the Nuncio's residence—a parochial house—to take counsel about withdrawal. On 13th August the Russians occupied Radzymin, a place twelve miles or so from the capital, and on that night most of the foreign diplomats left Warsaw. But the Nuncio remained to encourage the clergy and people in the grave danger and to share their sufferings in the event of defeat.

Cardinal Ferrari died on Feb. 2, 1921. At the end of March the Archbishop of Lepanto received an official communication from Rome nominating him to the vacant See of Milan. He decided to remain in Warsaw till July, in order to work at the drafting of the Concordat and to settle the question of ecclesiastical property. However, on May 19th he got a telegram summoning him to Rome immediately to receive the Cardinal's hat at the approaching Consistory in June. When this news became public, the clergy, the Government, the Diplomatic Corps, the people vied with each other in expressing esteem for his services and regret at his departure. He had the gift of making friends without departing from the aristocratic reserve that is so characteristic in him. It seemed as if all Warsaw was on the platform to bid him good-bye on the evening of June 4th. He had spent three busy, fruitful, apostolic years in Poland, his novitiate for the supreme government of the Church. As Benedict XV said at the Consistory, "he had been as Nuncio gently firm, exquisitely tactful, imperturbably serene, and thus succeeded in establishing peace between Church and State in difficult times and perilous circumstances."

On Jan. 22, 1922, Benedict XV died. The Conclave assembled to elect the Pope opened on the afternoon of

Feb. 3rd; and on the morning of Feb. 6th Cardinal Ratti secured the required number of votes. "We have accompanied Cardinal Ratti through fourteen stations of the Cross," remarked Cardinal Gasparri, "and now we are leaving him alone on Calvary." Cardinal Mercier in the Pastoral Letter written after his return from the Conclave describes picturesquely the ceremony that followed the election. After the Pope had chosen the name of Pius because he was desirous of consecrating his efforts to the pacification of the world, to which work his predecessor was devoted, he paused, and said, "I wish to add one word: I protest before the members of the Sacred College that I am determined to safeguard and defend the rights of the Church and all the prerogatives of the Holy See; but, this being said, I wish my first blessing to go forth as an earnest of that peace for which humanity longs, not only to Rome and Italy, but to the whole world. I will give the blessing from the outer balcony of St. Peter's." From what the Pope heard in the Conclave he must have concluded that an act like this would please the Cardinals as it indicated that he meant to foster and develop the amity which of late years, and particularly under Benedict XV, had grown up between the Vatican and the Quirinal. It was the first time a Pope had given the blessing "Urbi et Orbi" from the loggia of St. Peter's since 1870. And it is significant that the opening act of his Pontificate should have been as well his first tentative step towards the settlement of the Roman Question.

From the outset of his reign, Pius XI applied himself to the task of organising the Church to fulfil her mission in modern times. Rome is the most sensitive spot on earth, the world's best spiritual observatory. Pius XI on the Vatican Hill saw clearly the trend of the times towards unity and peace. With unerring precision he began to prepare the Church to take possession of this awakening desire, to guide, control and lead it to the Catholic ideal. He did not content himself with securing

this or that favourable arrangement with particular governments, though he did not neglect this method of expansion, as the numerous Concordats signed during his pontificate testify. He struck much deeper, laid the foundations of a policy that will influence the world for centuries, and provided the means and machinery of carrying that policy through.

He saw, for instance, the importance of the Missions, and how to make missionary zeal more effective. He concluded Concordats with the Powers in whose territories Missions were established, with China, for example, to which he sent an Apostolic Delegate. He inaugurated the Missionary Exhibition at the Vatican, and thus educated Catholics to take an interest in the expansion of the Church, and showed them the scope and meaning of missionary enterprise. In his encyclicals he instructed Missionary Bishops to erect seminaries, to provide for the education of the children, and to admit monastic establishments into their dioceses. Above all, he insisted upon an indigenous clergy, wherever it was at all possible, thus removing the suspicion from pagan minds that the Church administered by a foreign clergy was a tool of the State, that after the missionary came the trade, after the trade the invading army. To this policy the Pope gave a striking public confirmation when he consecrated with his own hands six Chinese Bishops on the same day at St. Peter's in October 1926. By this ordinance with regard to the creation of a native clergy he has liberated missionary zeal from its most serious impediment. And he had declared that the entire interest on the sum conceded to the Papacy under the recent financial agreement with Italy will be applied to the support of the Missions.

He realised, moreover, how imperative it was for the Catholic laity to be incorporated as a living body with the Church militant. Laymen and women had a part to play in restoring in the world the reign of Christ. And therefore he organised the Catholic Action Groups which,

in his own words, were designed to enable the laity in an ordered definitive way " to participate in the hierarchical apostolate of the Church." The Pope went into detail with regard to *Catholic Action*. He defined its essence, stated its objects to be the defence of the Faith and the restoration of Christain Life, outlined the means it should employ, traced it back to its origin in Apostolic times, and distinguished it sharply from politics. In the Concordat with Lithuania it is expressly stipulated that the State should accord full liberty to Catholic Action ; and in the Concordat with Italy, Article 43 reads as follows : " The Italian State recognises organisations dependent on Azione Cattolica Italiana, inasmuch as they, as the Holy See has declared, exercise activity outside all political parties and are under the immediate jurisdiction of the hierarchy of the Church for the diffusion and propaganda of Catholic principles." This forceful ideal has found a place in the liturgy since Pius XI instituted the Feast of the Kingship of Christ—it is the feast, in particular, of those who are united in Catholic Action, which the Pope himself has called " the true International."

Pius XI saw, too, that the conversion of the modern world to the one Catholic Faith must be effected in large degree by scholarship. He set about, therefore, organising and developing ecclesiastical studies. At Milan a great seminary has been erected, another at Assisi, another at Fano ; a Russian College, an Ethiopian college, a Czechoslovakian college have been opened in Rome. The most important and far-reaching step taken by the Holy Father in the matter of studies is the federation of the Gregorian University and the Biblical and Oriental Institutes into a great Pontifical University with an ample charter to confer the highest degrees, to provide the most thorough teaching, to train professors in the various ecclesiastical sciences, and to prepare the Catholic laity for effective Catholic action. Thus the Pope hopes to equip the clergy with the learning

needed to combat heresy and to gather the East and West into the living unity of the Church of Christ.

To the world in general, however, Pius XI's most striking act is the Lateran Treaty and the Concordat with Italy, whereby the Roman question has been definitely settled, and the relations between Church and State satisfactorily defined.

On May 13, 1871, eight months after the army of Savoy had entered Rome through the breech in the Porta Pia and deposed the Pope, the Italian Parliament passed the "Law of Guarantees." This statute was regarded for many years as irreversible, as something fundamental and essential to the Italian State. From many points of view it was a wise Law, and as laws of the kind went in other European countries, very generous to the Church. By it "the sacredness of the person of the Sovereign Pontiff was safeguarded; royal honours were to be accorded to him in all of Italy; the Vatican property was declared extra-territorial; the Pope was allowed unhindered access to the outer world and his relations with it were to be facilitated; and an annuity of 3,225,000 lire was settled on him for expenses." (Parsons: *The Pope and Italy*, p. 32). Pope Pius IX two days after the promulgation refused to accept the Law of Guarantees, a refusal reiterated with deliberate frequency by succeeding Pontiffs on the ground that the Law denied the Pope's sovereignty. As long as the Italian people regarded the Law as inviolable and the Popes refused to recognise it, the Roman Question was insoluble.

Some persons thought that nothing but a change of opinion about the Law of Guarantees on the part of Italy could lead to a settlement; and though that change was taking place slowly, it would be fifty years before it matured sufficiently to make negotiations profitable. That was the opinion of Carrière who wrote on the subject a few years ago. He noticed that Italians were beginning to criticise the Law of Guarantees as an inadequate

instrument. It was ceasing to be sacrosanct. Others maintained that the problem was insoluble by the wit of man. The Italian State could not surrender an inch of territory, and least of all could it evacuate Rome and set up another capital. The Pope's sovereignty could not be based, therefore, on the possession of independent territory. Nor could it be constituted by an international agreement, because Italy resolutely refused to allow foreign powers to interfere in what she regarded as her own private concern. Therefore, the only course was to accept the *status quo* and put up with the irritation and annoyance inseparable from it, hoping that time and tact would provide a *modus vivendi*.

The refusal on the part of the Popes to recognise the Law of Guarantees or to accept a soldo of the money voted to them, was not based on a punctilious disinclination to put foot on Italian territory in order to reach the sea or any other locality, nor on wordly ambition for power, nor on pecuniary greed, but on principles which were vital to the Apostolic and Catholic Mission of the Papacy. It was a question not of possessions but of status. The Catholic Church held its charter from Christ through the Apostles. Consequently, it was independent in its origin and government of all civil authorities, an independence it could not forfeit or seem to forfeit without surrendering or appearing to surrender its divine constitution. The Pope as Head of this spiritual kingdom was by right a sovereign ruling a perfect society, and this right could be clear to all only if he was in fact sovereign. By the Law of Guarantees the Pope had been deprived of sovereignty, since it reduced him to the level of an Italian citizen. He did not own the Apostolic Palaces which were declared to be extra-territoral, being in fact no more than a tenant of the State. The other concessions made by the Law constituted the Pope a very favoured Italian citizen, but nothing more. It guaranteed many things and gave to the Church great liberty in the practical

administration of her business. But it did not acknowledge or guarantee independence. In reality it took it away since it was a unilateral law imposed by the Italian parliament on the Pope as a subject of that parliament: and if the Popes had accepted it they would have fallen from the high estate in which they had been placed by a divine commission.

This conclusion may not seem evident since, in point of fact, the Church during the fifty years while the Law of Guarantees was in operation did not lose its Catholic jurisdiction. That is true; but she maintained her position only by refusing to recognise the statute. As the Pope was not acknowledged to be sovereign in the chancelleries of the world in virtue either of a diplomatic document or of an obvious fact, he could keep his claim to sovereignty before the world only by protest. It was the sole effective means left to him. And therefore, at frequent intervals, the voice of the Popes was raised calling the attention of the world to their anomalous position, and causing uneasiness in Italian minds. The protest, therefore, was not the petulant attitude of an obstinate person in the face of defeat; it was the only weapon by which the Popes could defend their essential prerogatives.

In October 1922 Signor Mussolini became Dictator, and adopted a policy of religious pacification entirely opposed to the irritating religious policy of previous Italian governments. Rumours began to circulate that the Roman Question was on the point of solution. The Pope continued his tutelary protestation against the usurping Italian State. Nevertheless it was quite true that Mussolini wanted to come to terms with the Pope, and that the Pope wanted to end the dispute which was beneficial neither to the Catholic religion nor to the Italian people.

There were two cardinal points at the root of the Roman Question; the question of territory and the

question of international status. The first implies full and independent sovereignty over a determined portion of territory however small. The Society of Nations would, in the ordinary course of events, recognise a new territorial delineation—it would, in any event, appear on the map and thus, of itself, carry with it an international status. If this guarantee were not conceded, then the only other that was at all adequate was a diplomatic agreement to which all the chief Powers of the world were signatories, recognising the rights, liberties and immunities of the Holy See as a sovereign and independent power, in such sort that their infringement on the part of Italy became an international delinquency and as such within the cognisance of the Powers.

In the summer of 1926 unofficial pourparlers began between Signor Barone who represented the views of the State and Signor Pacelli the legal adviser to the Vatican. Altogether these two intermediaries held 110 secret conversations, and Pius XI received Pacelli in audience 129 times. During the autumn of 1927 a controversy in the Italian press between Signor Giovanni Gentile and Signor Arnoldo Mussolini, the brother of the Premier, demonstrated that the Italian people had grown dissatisfied with the Law of Guarantees. The " Osservatore Romano," the official Vatican organ, in pointing out that the distinguished controversialists had provided no sufficient guarantee to the Pope and that the Roman Question remained intact still, gave the hint that the Holy See in demanding territory as the base of sovereignty would be satisfied with one " however small."

The " Foglio d'ordini," the official Fascist organ, in an article which bears unmistakable marks of Mussolini's authorship, referred to the controversy between Gentile and Arnoldo Mussolini and to the remarks of the " Osservatore Romano " and concluded by saying that while the solution must be bilateral, there could be no question of conceding any Italian territory to the Pope.

The only possible solution in these circumstances was the international solution, effected, say, by internationalising the Law of Guarantees, amended or not. The Italian Government would not consent to this, as it was not prepared to concede to foreign governments the right to control her relations with the Apostolic See. Catholics in general did not look with favour upon the plan either, chiefly because a diplomatic protocol locked away in state archives was not a *salient* fact. Without territory of his own the Pope is, to all appearance, a licensee of Italy, and the Papacy nothing more than an interesting and remarkable Italian institution.

At this date, therefore, though Italian political leaders admitted that the solution should come about by a bilateral agreement, no satisfactory basis for that agreement had been discovered, and the only effective guarantee was open and constantly reiterated protest on the part of the Holy See.

By November 1928, however, Mussolini had become resigned to the surrender of Italian territory, convinced perhaps by the analogy of small independent territories on Italian soil like San Marino, which did not in any way impair the sovereignty or weaken the unity of the Italian nation. Anyhow, by this date, Barone and Pacelli had cleared away the fundamental difficulties; and in the beginning of 1929 negotiations opened between them as accredited representatives of the Holy See and of Italy. On January 7th Barone died, and henceforth Mussolini himself took up the matter, meeting Pacelli each evening, the points discussed and the progress made being communicated next morning to the Holy Father by Pacelli. On February 11th the Lateran Treaty was signed.

It is a bilateral contract between two Sovereign powers, and by it Italy cedes to the Pope in perpetual and undisputed sovereignty a strip of territory henceforth to be known as the Vatican City. The Pope, on his side, foregoes all his claims to any other territory in Italy, and

declares the Roman Question definitely settled. Everything else is subsidiary—the clauses which concede extra-territoriality to certain pontifical palaces and institutions, the arrangements with regard to the administration of the criminal law in regard to offences committed on papal territory, the construction of a railway station, the explicit consent to allow foreign legations to the Vatican, etc. The Treaty is not international in the sense that it bears the signatures of foreign powers, but in the sense that it is an instrument agreed to by two high contracting parties each of which acknowledges and pledges itself to respect the sovereignty of the other within distinct and determined territorial boundaries. As such it becomes part of the Law of Nations.

Attached to the Treaty, but separate from it, is the Concordat, which, like other concordats deals with the relations between Religion and State in Italy. The State now recognises the Catholic Religion to be the State Religion, and recognises Church holidays. On the other hand, before the Holy See nominates a bishop or archbishop to an Italian See, it will communicate the name of the person chosen to the Italian Government, in order to be sure that the Government has no objections of a political kind against such person. Religion is to be taught in the schools. The marriage laws are to be brought into conformity with the Canon Law, so far as Catholic marriages are concerned, cases of nullity to be decided by the Holy See, whereas those of judicial separation are to be judged by the State. Article 28 grants full recognition to title of ecclesiastical property owned under Italian law in order to appease the consciences of the owners.

There is a third document—a financial agreement. According to it Italy undertakes to pay to the Holy See the sum of 750,000,000 lire, and the Holy See accepts this sum as a definite settlement of its financial relations with Italy depending upon the events of 1870. Though

this amount is far less than the Pope could in justice claim, he has preferred to be generous towards the Italian people in order to save them from heavy additional taxation.

What are the implications of the Treaty ?

The first and obvious effect is to constitute Italy a united nation. The king lives lawfully in Rome as his capital, and, in the words of Fr. Parsons, " the Italian people is freed from the incubus of a divided allegiance which weighed so heavily upon it, and poisoned much of its social and political life." On the evening of Feb. 11th Rome was loud with bells, windows were decorated with Italian and papal flags, and Prince Marcantonio Colonna received Cardinals and members of the Black and White aristocracy with the formal ceremonial prevalent in Papal Rome, in his ancestral palazzo whose doors had been closed since 1870. The Treaty must turn out to the immense advantage of Italy at home and abroad, a fact which nations jealous of Italy have not been slow to perceive.

In the second place it relieves from the Holy See the disagreeable necessity of making constant protests. And it has enabled the Church to make the Concordat which secures the Catholic heritage in faith and morals to the Italian people.

Internationally, the Agreement has been hailed with delight by Catholics. Non-Catholics have not been able to make up their minds whether they like it or not. For the most part they are suspicious, wondering what new impetus it will give to ' Papal Aggression.' An American writer in the April number of *Current History* infers that no American can be Pope for the curious reason that, as the citizen of a democratic State, an American subject could not accept a monarchical post. The writer appears to be quite unaware of the Papacy's supernational status and supernatural mission. Others are perplexed about the Vatican relations with the League of Nations.

Will it look for representation on the Supreme Council? And if it does, what view ought the Protestant powers to take of the request? And if the Vatican is admitted into the League, how legally can a place be made for it in the League's constitution? These doubts and anxieties were premature, because when the text of the Lateran Treaty was published, it was found that the contracting parties had foreseen the difficulty and provided for it in Article 24: "The Holy See, in relation to the sovereignty due to it also in the international sphere, declares that it wishes to remain extraneous to all temporal disputes between states and to international congresses held for such objects, unless the contending parties make concordant appeal to its peaceful mission; at the same time reserving the right to exercise its moral and spiritual power." Later non-Catholic commentators fear that this paragraph indicates the intention of the Papacy to enter into competition with the League of Nations by setting up under the presidency of the Pope a rival Catholic organisation for the peace of the world. But all this is conjecture, and a great deal of it rather childish conjecture. What is more certain is that France will not in the future hold the position in the Catholic world that she held in the past, when she was regarded as the chief protector of the Missions, "The Sergeant of the Church," a prerogative which redounded greatly to her prestige and importance abroad. She has forfeited that position by her anti-religious policy; and Italy has now the opportunity of taking France's place as the most vigorous Catholic nation in Europe. It is another instance of how Mussolini has served his country.

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THE IRISH BENEDICTINE CONGREGATION IN MEDIEVAL GERMANY

BY PROFESSOR DANIEL A. BINCHY, M.A., PH.D.

THE traveller who visits the historic city of Ratisbon in Northern Bavaria will be recommended by his Baedeker to walk from the Cathedral to the western city gate, beside which is the Church of St. James, usually called the *Schottenkirche*. His attention will be called in particular to the main entrance to the church, the so-called "Northern Portal," which, if he happens to be Irish, may well surprise him by its striking resemblance to similar structures in his native country. On consulting the guide-book, he will read that the church and the large building attached to it, now the diocesan seminary, belonged for centuries to Scotch monks of the Order of St. Benedict, and was the parent house of many other Scotch monasteries in Bavaria. The interior of the church will tend to reinforce this statement: all along the walls he will be able to read epitaphs extolling the virtues of various abbots with unmistakably Scotch names.

If he happens to be particularly observant, he may notice that the earliest of these epitaphs dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. But according to the guide-book, the monastery was founded in the eleventh century, and the church was built in the twelfth. What then of the previous abbots? Where are their epitaphs? They no longer survive, except a few which have escaped oblivion by having been copied into an ancient chronicle. Very probably they were deliberately removed from the church, for their presence might have betrayed the secret of the monastery—a secret which was admirably kept down to comparatively modern times. Those

former abbots were one and all Irishmen, and this was the Irish abbey of St. James in Ratisbon, for over four centuries the parent house of the Irish Benedictine Congregation in Germany.

The history of this Congregation still remains to be written. It is strange that no Irish ecclesiastical historian should have been tempted by it. Apart from a few unimportant articles, which merely summarise the contents of longer German articles, nothing has appeared about it in Ireland. And yet this Congregation, despite its distance from the motherland, was the most important of the native Benedictine Congregations in Irish history. It certainly was the most extensive. At the height of its career it embraced, besides the parent abbey of St. James in Ratisbon, the abbeys of Our Lady in Vienna, St. James in Würzburg, St. Aegidius in Nuremberg, St. James in Erfurt, St. James in Constance, as well as four priories in Germany: Weih Sankt Peter in Ratisbon, Eichstätt, Memmingen, and Kelheim, and two priories in Ireland—alluded to, but not named, in a Bull of Innocent IV., one of which was certainly the priory of Our Lady in Rosailithir (the modern Rosscarbery, Co. Cork). The story of the rise and fall of this Congregation throws much light on a little known phase of Irish ecclesiastical history in the later Middle Ages. It is the story of a second tide of Irish missionary activity on the Continent, which rises steadily for about two centuries, then gradually ebbs, and finally disappears in the sixteenth century, leaving no traces behind it, or rather leaving traces which have been persistently and continuously falsified by a strange accident of history.

The researches of some German scholars have given us a certain amount of material for the history of the more important monasteries of the Congregation. The Vienna abbey has fared best, doubtless because, alone of the former Irish foundations, it still survives, although manned by German Benedictines since the beginning

of the fifteenth century. In 1859 the documents in its archives dealing with the whole of the Irish period (1161-1418) were published by Dr. Ernst Hauswirth,[1] and the same learned author gave us a brief but valuable history of his monastery.[2] Further, the relations of the latter with the parent house in Ratisbon have been carefully studied by Dr. Albert Hübl.[3] And now we are able to welcome an admirable monograph from the pen of an Irish scholar, the Rev. Dr. Barry,[4] who, a couple of years ago, obtained the Doctorate of Philosophy in the University of Munich. The present work, a revised edition of his dissertation, deals primarily with the conditions obtaining in the monastery at the close of the Irish tenure. To the important results of Dr. Barry's researches I shall have to return constantly in the course of this article. At the moment it is sufficient to say that his short work is a model of historical criticism, written in excellent German, and giving proof of exceptional industry and exceptional skill.

The abbey of St. James in Ratisbon has received comparatively little attention, despite its leading position in the Congregation. Perhaps this is chiefly due to the fact that, owing to its rather chequered history, its archives have been scattered, the chief documents being at the moment divided between Munich, Ratisbon, and Blairs College, Aberdeen, whither some of them were brought by the two monks who formed the total community at the time of the secularisation of the monastery (1865). In a hitherto unpublished dissertation of mine, to which Dr. Barry refers, I have edited most of these documents, and have constructed from them a brief history of the abbey

[1] *Urkunden der Benediktiner-Abtei U.L.F. zu den Schotten in Wien* (*Font. Rer. Austr. IV.*).

[2] *Abriss einer Geschichte der Benediktiner-Abtei U.L.F. zu den Schotten in Wien* (1857).

[3] *Die Wiener Schotten und das Mutterkloster in Regensburg* (Jahresbericht des k. k. Obergymnasiums zu den Schotten in Wien, 1913-1914, p. 137 f.)

[4] *Die Zustände im Wiener Schottenkloster vor der Reform des Jahres* 1418. Von Patrick J. Barry. (Lothar Schütte, Aichbach, 1927).

and of its relations with the other houses of the Congregation down to the end of the Irish period.[1] Some of the results of my investigations I propose to summarise here, in addition to dealing with the specific questions raised by Dr. Barry.

Although St. James was the head monastery of the Congregation, it was not the oldest foundation. The priory of Weih Sankt Peter without the walls of Ratisbon preceded it by about twenty years. The church which bore this name was one of the most ancient in the city, and had belonged for centuries to the Community of Obermünster, a Benedictine convent in Ratisbon. In or about the year 1070 it was presented by the Abbess and Community to a handful of Irish pilgrims who had just arrived in Ratisbon under the leadership of St. Marianus.

The life of this saint, written by a member of the Community of St. James about the year 1184, was published by the Bollandists in 1658,[2] and gives a most valuable account of the early history of the Irish Congregation in Germany. But first a word about Marianus himself. There still exist two important manuscripts from the hand of this Irish pilgrim. The *Vita Mariani* ascribes to him special skill and industry as a scribe, and I have discovered in later sources several references to other manuscripts written by him, which have since perished. But the two which survive give us some memorable first-hand information. The first is a very celebrated codex, now in the State Library of

[1] *Die irischen Benediktinerklöster in Regensburg.* München. 1923. The originals of the documents (to some of which I shall refer in this article) are to be seen in the Munich *Hauptstaatsarchiv*, in the Ratisbon episcopal archives, and in the archives of the Ratisbon diocesan Seminary (the former monastery building) In painful contrast to the great courtesy shown to me in all these institutions was the refusal of the President of Blairs College in 1924 to allow me to consult the originals preserved there. The refusal was all the more inexplicable, as I had already in my possession copies of all these documents (taken from transcripts made by a priest of the Ratisbon diocese named Ried in 1815), and merely wished to collate them with the originals.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., Tom. II. 361-378. The MS. used is defective, there being a fuller account in a MS. preserved in the Munich *Staatsbibliothek*.

Vienna.[1] It contains not only several Irish marginal glosses, but also, on the last folio, the scribe's signature in his native language: Muiredach MacRobartaigh. No doubt he was a member of the Donegal family of that name, the hereditary keepers of the *cathach* of Columcille; this is confirmed by the statement in the Vita that he originated *ab aquilone parte Hiberniae*. The other codex is now in Fort Augustus Abbey, near Inverness.[2] It too contains a number of marginal glosses in Irish and Latin, from one of which it is possible to date the arrival of the Scotti in Ratisbon. It was written in the year 1080, which was possibly that of the saint's death, for he breaks off suddenly in the middle of a sentence, and the remaining twenty odd folios were written by one of his disciples about three years subsequently. The manuscript was written by Marianus while in a cell he had constructed beside the church of Weih Sankt Peter. Round about him were his brethren, each in a similar cell, after the old Irish monastic fashion. It was not until the founding of St. James that his followers adopted the Benedictine rule.

Such were the modest beginnings of the Irish Benedictine Congregation in Germany. About two centuries later, when it had grown to stately proportions, a member of the Community of St. James sought by means of a *pia fraus* to invest it with a more ancient and aristocratic origin. He composed a history, the so-called *Libellus de fundatione Consecrati Sancti Petri* (*i.e.*, Weih Sankt Peter), in which he blended fact and fiction with

[1] The codex has, on account of its glosses, received considerable attention from Celtic philologists; cf. O'Donovan in Ulster Journal of Archaeology, 1869, p. 11f; Zeuss, Gram. Celt. I., xxiv.; Reeves in PRIA, vii, 290. For a study of the fragments of Pelagius' Commentary contained in it cf. Zimmer, Pelagius in Irland.

[2] By kind permission of the Abbot of Fort Augustus, I was allowed to examine this codex at considerable length. It contains six Irish and seven Latin glosses in the hand of Marianus, usually a prayer to the saint on whose festival he happens to be writing, *e.g.* fol. 11r. sancte barnabe apostole pro misero mariano intercede [*i.e.*, Thursday, June 11]. fol. 48r. impede gervasi 7 protasi ar a feil indiu for dia imdilgud diar troge [*i.e.*, Friday, June 19th].

the most disarming naiveté.[1] According to his account, the site of the church was granted to St. Marianus and his Irish followers by no less a personage than the Emperor Charlemagne, and the church which was erected thereon was miraculously consecrated by St. Peter in person! But apart from these liberties taken with the date and circumstances of the foundation, the legend gives a tolerably accurate account of its early days, and forms a very useful supplement to the *Vita Mariani* as a source for the early history of St. James.

By the end of the century the little colony of peregrini around Weih Sankt Peter had considerably increased. They had been received by the clergy and laity of Ratisbon with every mark of favour, and material benefits had been showered upon them. The bishop, Otto, a vehement supporter of the Emperor Henry IV. in his quarrel with the Papacy, had secured from the Emperor a charter of protection for the Scotti and their church, the original of which, dated February 1st, 1089, still survives in the Munich archives. Encouraged by this, they set about constructing a larger monastery, and by the year 1111 the bishop of Ratisbon was able to consecrate their new monastery of St. James. The writer of the *Libellus*, anxious to prove the complete independence of his abbey, has invented the story that all the moneys necessary for its construction were provided by various kings in Ireland, but the charter of the Emperor Henry V., granted to the monastery shortly after its consecration, gives a more sober and accurate account: the site was presented and the cost of building defrayed by some pious citizens of Ratisbon. From this time on the monks are regular

[1] From the large number of MSS. of this *Libellus* which have survived, it would seem to have enjoyed general popularity and widespread credence. The portion of it dealing with the mythical foundation by Charlemagne has been edited and critically studied by A. Dürrwächter in his book: *Die Gesta Caroli Magni der Regensburger Schottenlegende*. Bonn. 1897. He has not dealt, however, with the later sections describing the founding of St. James and the other monasteries, which are of real historical value. I have transcribed these sections from all the available MSS. and hope to publish them eventually.

Benedictines, St. James being governed by an abbot and Weih Sankt Peter by a prior, subordinate to the abbot in all things, spiritual and temporal.[1]

The relations between the monasteries and the mother country are well documented for the period covered by the *Vita* and the *Libellus*. About the year 1130, two of the monks were sent on a mission to Ireland, and were cordially received by Conchobhar O Briain, king of Munster.[2] About twenty years later, the third abbot of St. James, Christianus (Gilla Crist) MacCarthy, undertook a similar journey to his native district, and was warmly welcomed by his relations as well as by Concobhar's successor, Toiréalach O Briain. He was on the point of returning to his monastery, laden with the pious offerings of his fellowcountrymen, when he was stricken with fever and died.[3] According to the *Libellus*, the gifts which he had received were afterwards handed over to his successor in the abbacy, Gregorius, by Muirchertach O Briain, king of Thomond. No doubt, these intimate relations with Ireland continued during the succeeding centuries, but owing to the absence of any continuous narrative like the *Vita* and *Libellus*, they are difficult to trace. Only in occasional records of purely secular transactions do we find a reference to the absence

[1] From the end of the thirteenth century the offices of Prior of Weih Sankt Peter and Prior of St. James seem to have been amalgamated, the Prior retaining a separate residence beside the older church. He had a traditional right to an annual prebend of corn and beer from the convents of Obermünster and Niedermunster, doubtless a relic of the charity shown by these institutions to the Irish pilgrims on their arrival. This right was subsequently the occasion of more than one dispute. Similarly the *ius praesentationis* claimed by the abbesses of Obermünster over the priory of Weih Sankt Peter led to constant friction.

[2] The value of the *Libellus* as a source for the early history of the monasteries is shown by the fact that (while it characteristically makes him King of Ireland instead of Munster) it has actually retained the nickname of this King: Concobhar *na cathrach*. He died, according to the Annals, in 1144.

[3] The *Libellus* states that he was elected Archbishop of Cashel just before his death, and was buried with great pomp in the Cathedral. But this is clearly an invention. Donatus O Lonergan ruled the See from 1137 to 1158, and Christian must have died at latest in 1156, the year in which Adrian IV granted a *privilegium* to his successor in the abbacy.

of the abbot *in Hibernia*. The seeking of novices must have been the main purpose of these visits: one of the contributions levied on all the houses of the Congregation was a tax *pro personis de Ybernia ducendis*.

There was, indeed, little necessity for the Irish monks to seek alms in their native country. The material possessions of St. James increased steadily, until by the middle of the thirteenth century it was one of the richest monasteries in Southern Germany. It acquired from numerous benefactors, by gift and by will, a surprisingly large amount of landed property, as is evidenced by the imposing list of its possessions recited in the charters of the Emperor Frederick II and King Henry VII. Like all important monasteries of the period, it aspired to be *reichsunmittelbar*, and secured charter after charter from successive Emperors recognising to it far-reaching temporal immunities.[1]

Still more intent was the abbey on securing spiritual immunity, in the shape of complete freedom from the jurisdiction of the local bishop and Metropolitan. It secured *privilegia maiora*, placing it under the immediate jurisdiction of the Holy See, from no less than ten Popes: Calixtus III, Eugenius III, Adrian IV, Alexander III, Lucius III, Celestine III, Innocent III, Innocent VI, Eugenius IV, and Innocent VIII. An account of its disputes, many of them very serious, with the bishops of Ratisbon would require a separate article.[2] On the strength of the papal *privilegia*, the Irish abbots constantly repudiated the authority which the local bishops sought

[1] How far the charges made against later Irish abbots of reckless extravagance and mismanagement of the monastic estates are justified is a question which merits investigation, in view of the results of Dr. Barry's inquiry into similar charges levelled against the Vienna abbey. But, while I cannot claim to have studied the economic history of St. James in detail, I have met some damaging evidence in support of these accusations. An account of the landed property of the monastery is given by Dr. Hans Meier: *Das ehemalige Schottenkloster St. Jakob in Regensburg und seine Grundherrschaft* (Regensburg, 1918).

[2] Some of them are dealt with by F. Janner: *Geschichte der Bischöfe von Regensburg* (3 vols. Regensburg 1883-1886), who is naturally inclined to take the episcopal side.

to exercise over their monastery. But their resistance was not always successful. Towards the end of the thirteenth century we find the bishop compelling Abbot Matthaeus (ostensibly on the ground of his extravagance and mismanagement) to accept his control in spiritual and temporal matters. The succeeding abbots had perforce to continue this arrangement, but obviously they were only awaiting an opportunity to get rid of it. The opportunity presented itself at the beginning of the year 1330, when Abbot Nicholas fled to Munich to invoke the protection of Louis the Bavarian, then under the papal ban. The Emperor, anxious to be avenged on the bishop for publishing the sentence of excommunication in his diocese, received Nicholas with open arms, and in a charter issued on the 17th of February expressly forbade all episcopal interference with the monastery. He entrusted the protection of the latter to the Senate of Ratisbon, which was to appoint three of its members to look after the temporal concerns of St. James. In reality the monastery had only secured a change of masters. The Senate interfered continually in its affairs, apparently more with a view to annoying the bishop than to effecting improvement. It thus became a standing battle-ground between the episcopate and the Senate; in fact, as we shall see, one of the battles led directly to the Scotch usurpation.

I have said nothing as yet about the founding of the other Irish houses throughout Germany and their establishment as a separate Benedictine Congregation under the headship of St. James. In the course of the twelfth century eight colonies were established in German lands. In 1135, the bishop of Würzburg erected a monastery for twelve of the Ratisbon Community under the leadership of St. Macarius. Next year a similar number were despatched to a new house in Erfurt. A few years later the famous *Aegidienkloster* in Nuremberg was constructed for the Scotti by the munificence of the Emperor Conrad

III. Between 1158 and 1161 the first Duke of Austria, Henry of Babenberg, who, as a former ruler of Bavaria, had been in close touch with the foreign monks, established a monastery for them in his new capital, Vienna, richly endowed with lands and immunities. Before the close of the century the priories of Kelheim, Eichstätt and Memingen had also been founded.[1]

Boyond doubt, these were all independent foundations, but within a very short time we find St. James claiming a certain jurisdiction over them. The *privilegium* of Lucius III, granted on April 11, 1185, provides that its abbot shall exercise jurisdiction over the superiors of all the Communities which had gone out from Ratisbon, and that these superiors shall assemble once a year in the parent-monastery 'ubi et correctiones excessuum et instituta ordinis a vobis suscipiant humiliter et observent'. The relation was made still more precise by Innocent III. The twelfth canon of the Lateran Council had provided for the holding of regular Chapters by the Benedictine monasteries of each ecclesiastical province and for the periodical visitation of the individual houses. Owing to the peculiar position of the Irish monks in Germany, Innocent, in a special Bull issued in 1215, exempted them from the general provisions of the statute, and erected them into a separate Congregation under the presidency of the Ratisbon abbot. The latter, on the strength of this Bull, laid claim to far-reaching powers over the other houses. In many documents he is described as " pater abbas matricularius, visitator et corrector omnium monasteriorum et fratrum ybernice nationis per Aleman-

[1] A Bull of Innocent IV, addressed to the Ratisbon abbot from Lyons, December 1st, 1248, refers to *novitii priorataum in Ibernia tuo monasterio subjectorum*. The only one of these priories which I have been able to trace is that of Ross already alluded to. It does not appear in official documents until the 15th century. The Munich archives contain a letter written by its prior Donatus O'Hea in 1466 recommending one of his community to all the Irish houses in Germany. The letter also refers to an impending visitation of the priory by the abbot of Würzburg, under whose control it seems to have come. This control is specifically recognised in an ordinance of the General Chapter dated 27 October, 1479.

niam constitutorum". In addition to the presidency of the Chapter, he claimed the right to hold regular visitations of the other monasteries, to ratify their abbatial elections, and to depose unworthy superiors.

But his claims did not always pass unchallenged. Not all the new monasteries were disposed to submit to his authority, and in the course of the twelfth century we find more than one attempt to repudiate it. In 1225, Crinotus, abbot of Erfurt, refused to attend the meeting of the chapter, and the *abbas matricularius* had to appeal to the archbishop of Mainz, who, having received a copy of Innocent's Bull in evidence, gave judgment against Crinotus. Again, in 1268, the abbot of Würzburg vainly attempted to secure that the visitations of his monastery should be undertaken in future by the local bishop, ostensibly on account of the expense involved in bringing his superior from Ratisbon. But most serious of all was the quarrel with Vienna, to which historians of that monastery, including Dr. Barry, have already devoted some attention. In 1230, on the death of Abbot Marcus, a section of the monks, without any consultation with the parent monastery, elected one of their number named Clement to the abbacy. The news reached Abbot James of Ratisbon when he was actually *en route* for Vienna to preside at the new election. He at once appealed to the diocesan authority—which, incidentally, he and his successors were willing enough to use against the subordinate houses, while jealously guarding against it at home. In the absence of the bishop, the case came for hearing before the Cathedral Chapter of Passau. James, supported by some loyal members of the Vienna Community, produced the various papal documents in support of his authority; the rebellious section, on the other hand, put in no appearance at the trial. On 14 September judgment was delivered by the Dean and Chapter: the election of Clement was declared uncanonical and void, and a new election in accordance with the provisions of

the papal Bull was ordered. An appeal by the partisans of Clement to the Metropolitan of Salzburg was rejected *in limine*, and shortly afterwards, Dermot, the choice of the new election, was consecrated by the same prelate.

The victory of the parent monastery seemed to be complete. But in point of fact, St. James seems only to have exercised its control spasmodically. True, there still survives records of occasional visitations of Nuremberg and Erfurt, and in 1391 an abbot of the latter monastery was actually suspended for misconduct by his superior. On the other hand, the few records which survive of the deliberations of the Chapters show anything but a full attendance of the other abbots. But the old relation was never lost sight of, and later on we shall find the Ratisbon abbots reasserting all their former claims when attempting to win back for their nation the monasteries of Vienna and Nuremberg. During the fifteenth century, indeed, the tables were completely turned. In 1452 members of the Erfurt Community had actually to come to Ratisbon to put an end to the apparently chronic disorders in St. James; their intervention, as it happened, only made matters worse. Again in 1479 we find the General Chapter adopting a number of Statutes which impose drastic restrictions on the powers of the *abbas matricularius*. But these later instances are not typical of the conditions obtaining during the better period of the Congregation's history.

It would be more agreeable to describe the fortunes of the individual monasteries during that better period, but I am precluded from doing so by considerations of relevance as well as of space. Dr. Barry's work deals with the beginnings of a more gloomy period, during which the Irish Congregation, once famous throughout Germany for the zeal and piety of its members,dwindles, degenerates, and eventually disappears. To this less cheerful aspect of its history I must now turn.

If we are to believe the German Benedictines who

succeeded to their inheritance, the Irish monks richly deserved the fate which overtook them. The conditions obtaining in the monasteries of Nuremberg, Würzburg, and Vienna when the Irish were dispossessed in favour of native Benedictines, were, according to the testimony of some of the latter, nothing short of disgraceful. Colomannus of Nuremberg does not hesitate to charge his Irish predecessors with drunkenness and immorality; they had even descended, he tells us, to keeping a common alehouse, of which they themselves would seem to have been the chief customers. The German monks who were introduced in their stead found the monastery like a wilderness: the library reduced to two manuscripts, the very mitre and staff of the abbot in pawn. A similar situation afterwards faced those monks who, at the end of the fifteenth century took over Würzburg, according to the account given by the celebrated Abbot Trithemius: no corn, no wine, not even a frying pan! The worst indictment, however, was formulated against the Vienna abbey; for many years before the dispossession of the Irish, most important rules of the order (including those relating to abstinence and private property) had been openly flouted; the monastery buildings had been frequently used for unseemly amusements; everything, down to the church bell and the sacred vestments, had been mortgaged to Jewish creditors, and could only be used with their permission.

Truly a dark picture. The question is: how far is it an accurate one? We must remember that we are dealing with interested witnesses, anxious to justify their presence in these ancient Irish foundations. Allowance must also be made for national and other prejudices, jealousy of the foreign monks, and ignorance of their manners and customs. At the same time, when writing my dissertation, I was inclined to take these denunciations very seriously. After all, I argued, they were formulated by fellow-Benedictines, who would

hardly seek to discredit their Order by inventing such scandalous stories about their predecessors. Dr. Barry, however, was not so easily convinced. He set out to examine methodically the charges brought against the Irish Community of Vienna, and the results of his inquiry have been such as to make me repent of my former credulity. Indeed his devastating criticism of the "sources" in the case of Vienna will necessitate a general revision of traditional views as to the "degeneration" of all the Irish monasteries in Germany.

For Vienna the most important source is the *Memoriale reformationis ad Scotos*, written by a member of the German Community in 1468, that is to say, half a century subsequent to the expulsion of the Irish. Dr. Barry has been able to convict its anonymous author of several historical inaccuracies. He has further established the significant fact that many of the charges which it brings against the Irish monks have been borrowed almost verbatim from the account of the Nuremberg monastery written some years previously by Colomannus. This tends to prove that the author's chief concern was to make a case against the Scotti, and that he was content to draw the materials for his brief from extraneous sources. Still more worthless is the second source, the work entitled *Stiftung und Prelaten unser Lieben Frauen Gottshaus zu Wien*, published by Johann Rasch in 1586. The evidence supplied by it is not only secondary but unreliable, and the portion dealing with the misdemeanours of the Irish is shown by Dr. Barry to be a mere rehash of the *Memoriale*, seasoned with some further charges apparently supplied by the author's own imagination.[1]

[1] The circumstances under which Rasch's work was written help to explain its nature. Just at this time, the Scotch Benedictines, who had ousted the Irish from the remaining houses of the Congregation in 1515, were making great efforts to secure the Vienna *Schottenkloster*, on the ground that, as its name showed, it was a "Scotch" foundation. John Lesley, the famous bishop of Ross, and his former secretary, Ninian Winzet, now abbot of St. James, had made several attempts to win the Emperor to their side. The German holders of the monastery accordingly needed a *pièce justificative* in favour of their tenure: this was provided by Rasch's work.

Dr. Barry, having thus shaken the credit of the witnesses, proceeds to examine the individual charges levelled by them against the Irish Community. He shows that the sole evidence of these charges is to be found in the *Memoriale* (we may dismiss Rasch as a later plagiarist). On the other hand, the history of the period in question is fully documented by records still existing in the monastery archives. Not a single one of these records confirms any of the charges; even the official account of the final visitation and surrender of the abbey makes no mention of viciousness or disorder. Several documents cited by Dr. Barry seem rather to prove the exact contrary. In them we find the Irish abbots, even in the period immediately preceding the "reform" of 1418, among the outstanding figures in the spiritual life of the city, acting as papal Commissioners in several cases, functioning as Conservators of the University, with which, from its inception, the monastery had been intimately connected.[1] How can we reconcile this lofty position with the sweeping accusations of the *Memoriale*, written, it must be remembered, over fifty years afterwards? Its further charges of extravagance and incompetence in the management of the monastic property Dr. Barry shows to be equally unsubstantiated. A detailed investigation of the records has convinced him that any alienations which took place were caused by the contemporary economic situation. The ravages of the "black death" and the increasing financial exactions of the Dukes of Austria had reduced most of the Austrain monasteries to sore straits; but according to Dr. Barry, all the evidence goes to show that the Irish abbots endeavoured to husband their resources carefully

[1] Dr. Barry has collected most interesting information as to the relations of the Irish monks with the University. One of the last abbots, Donaldus, was actually Rector, and the names of several of the Community appear in the registers of students, among them that of Thomas, the last Irish abbot, who had also studied in Erfurt. In the latter city, the relations between the University and the Irish monastery were also very intimate, the abbot being almost invariably one of the Conservators.

during this difficult period. To sum up, Dr. Barry has succeeded in discrediting completely the authors of the indictment subsequently formulated against the dispossessed monks, and no impartial historian will be able to challenge his verdict: "will man sich ein Urteil bilden über die geistigen, moralischen und intellektuellen Eigenschaften der Schottenmönche, so muss das Memoriale im allgemeinen ausser Betracht gelassen werden."

This is far from saying that conditions were ideal. No doubt there were abuses; but whether they were more serious in the Irish than in most of the German monasteries of the time may well be doubted. The miseries of the Great Schism, the political dissensions within the Holy Roman Empire, the ravages of famine and plague, all had contributed to a general loosening of monastic discipline, abundantly testified to by the various reform movements and "visitations" within the Benedictine Order right through the fifteenth century. But apart from these general causes of decline, there were very special circumstances which militated against the maintenance of their former standards in the Irish monasteries. A series of isolated colonies scattered throughout a foreign country, not unreasonably jealous of local ecclesiastical control, their peculiar position tended to facilitate the growth of abuses. The task of securing suitable novices from Ireland was increasingly difficult, owing to the disturbed conditions prevailing there (partly as a result of the Anglo-Norman invasion) and the perils of the long journey. Hence it is not suprising that some of the recruits received from the motherland should have been undesirable characters, possibly men who had been expelled from one of the native monasteries and hoped for a more lenient régime abroad. If we accept the doubtful testimony of Colomannus, three young novices who arrived in Nuremberg in 1415, on being censured by Mauritius, the last Irish abbot of St. Aegidius', insolently replied that they had come

over "non propter abstinentiam sed propter habundantiam et propter liberam voluntatem vivendi."[1] On at least two occasions (in 1311 and 1329) the General Chapter had to denounce the conduct of individual monks "nostrae nationis," or persons claiming to be such, who wandered about Germany from one monastery of the Congregation to another, leading most unclerical lives *en route*. Stringent measures were adopted to deal with this abuse, and apparently they were successful. But the supply of novices from Ireland was steadily declining, until, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the native springs seemed to be quite dried up. The priories of Kelheim, Eichstätt and Memingen had long been held *in commendam* by German secular priests, but now even in the more important abbeys of the Congregation the numbers were pitifully small. Vienna was the most populous, with a community of seven members; Ratisbon, Nuremberg and Erfurt had but three each.

This, as Dr. Barry points out, is the real explanation of the campaign for the dispossession of the Irish. Their houses were naturally the easiest to "reform." When it was sought to introduce members of the various reformed Congregations into Germany and Austria, these richly endowed monasteries, manned by a few foreigners, were obviously indicated. Whether the subsequently formulated charges of immorality and disorder be wholly false or partially true, there is no doubt that paucity of numbers was the immediate occasion of the loss of Vienna and Nuremberg in 1418. The story of the loss of these two monasteries and the subsequent decline of the Irish Congregation in Germany, culminating in the transfer of its remaining houses to the Scotch Benedictines a century later, must await a further article.

D. A. Binchy.

[1] Oefele, *Script. Rer. Boic.* I, 343. A letter from the Irish abbot of Nuremberg to the Bishop of Ratisbon in 1366, the original of which still survives, gives a long account of the scandalous conduct of one Walter "ybernice nationis," who had been expelled in turn from the monasteries of Vienna, Erfurt and Nuremberg.

O'CONNELL AND POPULAR EDUCATION

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THE great national and religious movement of the Irish people, 1823 to 1829, was prepared for by O'Connell, through the education movement of 1820-1823 and later. In this education movement he is to be seen as the Catholic man of action, action based on religious principles explicitly asserted and applied in defence of existing popular schools. Education in Ireland, as he set out in a letter of January, 1815, must be always derived from "the principles of Catholic faith and national feeling." Detestation of the working of both these principles, as applied in the 8000 independent and democratic local schools of Catholic Ireland, had led, in the years 1800-1815, to the development of a new aggressive policy against our Catholic system of education. Upwards of a dozen new Education Societies, Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, financed by the English Parliament or by English subscriptions, were set up with this purpose, explicitly declared. Most of them made no secret of their proselytising aims. It was on the most insidious of all, the Kildare Place "Society for the Education of the Poor of Ireland," that O'Connell concentrated the Catholic education movement of 1820 and subsequent years. It was in control of government grants supposed to be dispensed without interfering with the religion of the people. It was ably directed by a compact group of Dublin bankers, lawyers, merchants, Anglicans and Dissenters, who never admitted more than two 'hand-picked' Catholics into their large Board of Directors. Their aim, as their own words will show, was to extirpate the popular schools of Ireland, and to replace them by their own new type of school.

That these local schools were definitely Catholic in organisation, methods, and educative aims can be fully seen in the partly-published Catholic records for the century preceding 1829. Such are the Visitation Registers of Cashel, 1750-1760, under Archbishop James Butler I; of Meath, 1780-1790, under Bishop Patrick Plunkett; and the admirably detailed School Census, showing for every parish the attendances, curriculum, and financial plans, perfected in 1805 for the Dioceses of Cloyne and Ross by Bishop William Coppinger. Thus "in every parish in Ireland, the Catholic priests have schools for the moral and religious education of the poor," as O'Connell told the Westminster Parliament on September 9, 1831. To show the character of the new aggression by Ascendancy Education Societies bent on the extirpation of that Catholic and democratic school system, to explain how O'Connell and the Irish people shattered that attack by the public application of Catholic doctrine and principle, and then swept forward on the wider front of Catholic action, a very few testimonies to the universality and efficiency of the Catholic and Irish school system, of 1800-1830, may here be adduced. They are from exclusively foreign or from definitely hostile sources.

"The people of Ireland are, I may almost say, universally educated. I do not know any part of Ireland so wild that the inhabitants are not anxious, eagerly anxious, for education. As to the education acquired by the general mass of the common people, I cannot speak of it in terms of sufficient reprobation. To the common schoolmaster is the Education of the Poor entirely entrusted. Their pupils imbibe hatred of the Government, and superstitious veneration for old customs." So wrote Edward Wakefield in his elaborate Account of Ireland, 1812. "The state of education amounts to this, and no more, that I believe it may be said that every father in the county, without exception, sends his children to a neighbouring school, where they

learn to scrawl a little writing, to read as they are taught, and some of the rules of arithmetic. Some make considerable proficiency in these branches." Thus did James McParlan, M.D., express himself in 1802, writing the Survey of Leitrim for the Royal Dublin Society. Both hostile witnesses confirm the finding of Arthur Young, F.R.S., inserted in his *Tour in Ireland*, 1776-1779. " Hedge Schools are everywhere to be met with. Every child of the poorest family learns to read, write, and cast accounts." Another hostile witness is that " Member of the late Irish Parliament " who in 1803 wrote *An Essay on the Population of Ireland.* " The lowest class of the Irish possess a degree of subtlety rarely to be met with among the same description of people in any country. The majority of them are perfect masters of the courtly arts of penetration and dissimulation, especially the latter. They set so high a value on learning, that the poorest labourers will often appropriate a part of their scanty earnings to the education of their children. The more abstruse parts of arithmetic, and also mensuration and navigation, are taught in many of the poorest unendowed schools of Ireland. The art of writing is often carried to its utmost perfection among the poorest of this class : and their attainments in orthography, and perspicuity of style, have frequently to my knowledge, excited the amazement of strangers." The distinguished German man of letters, Prince Hermann Pückler-Muskau, in his *Tour through Ireland*, 1828-29, records his finding thus : " All the Catholic children in Ireland are carefully instructed, and can at least read ; while the Protestant children are often utterly ignorant."

To the promoters of the new Ascendancy aggression, 1800 to 1820 and later, the Catholic schoolmasters were main object of attack. The Anglican clergy of Clogher, in 1800, deemed them " fit instruments to disseminate, among the Lower Orders, treason and rebellion." The need of a remedy for an evil of such magnitude must be

as obvious in a political as in a moral point of view." Wakefield, in 1812, reprobates "the mischievous system of education given to the native poor, the common Irish, by their common schoolmasters: by their superior knowledge they render powerful aid to the disaffected." They "cherish superstition, dissension, disloyalty," exclaims the Castle Education Board in 1812. The Anglican Archbishop John George Beresford of Armagh, in 1825, called for "safe schoolmasters" to repair "a dangerous evil," the independent teachers who "have been suffered to multiply." "The Hedge Grammar Schools," wrote Dr. H. J. Monck Mason in 1815, require the extirpation process: "wild plants of education have grown rank through the country, and teem with fruit either poisonous in its quality or perverted in its use." Hence, as Dr. Monck Mason told "the Nobility and Gentry," the Kildare Place Society "very wisely shaped all their projects to encounter and overcome" the Catholic popular schools.

The Kildare Place Society revealed their origins in 1820, confirming its advocate's views expressed in 1815. "In the year 1798, some benevolent and judicious persons, impressed with the truth that the education of the Lower Classes could alone correct their turbulence, instituted a school in School Street. Its advantages were so apparent that the Directors felt it would be a National Benefit if such a system could be extended through Ireland. They constituted a Society for the Education of the Poor of Ireland." School Street is in the area of James's Gate; and the leading members of the New Society, to be transferred to Kildare Place in 1817, were William L. Guinness and Arthur Guinness, "of James's Gate." With them were three La Touches, partners in the great Huguenot banking firm; the names of Orpen, Bewley, Maquay, Disney, Thorpe, Jackson, Schoales, Todhunter are conspicuous on the Board of 1811-13.

These opulent and influential men, self-commissioned

for the "extensive object," as they called it, of "the Education of the Poor of Ireland," acknowledged in their 1814 Report that they could only collect £133 in annual subscriptions. With bland candour they describe what followed. "Having no prospect of being more successful in any reasonable time," they turned to Robert Peel, then Chief Secretary. He at once got them, in 1814-15, an annual Parliamentary grant. Beginning at £7,000, it rose to £20,000, and reached even £30,000, in days when war taxes were extreme and when no such grant was voted for England. The Kildare Place Society thus controlled, 1815-31, the only education funds that were not expressly designated for Proselytism. They had full power to limit its issue to schools that would accept the Kildare Place Rules.

The Society that originated in School Street, by St. James's Gate, Dublin, was careful to follow the lead given by the Castle Education Board of 1812. In its Report of that year, the State Commission declared it necessary to exercise "control over the whole education of the Lower Classes." At the same time, it advised, as "essential" to success in this aim, that it should "be explicitly avowed, and clearly understood, that no attempt shall be made to disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any Sect of Christians." The new Society of Protestant citizens of Dublin were quite willing to accept this policy. It was only a policy: it was limited to "*new* establishments for the Lower Classes." They accordingly formulated their Plan in the following terms:—

> The *object* is simple, but extensive: the Education of the Poor of Ireland. The *leading principle* on which it has been judged *expedient* to act, is to afford the same advantages for Education to all classes of professing Christians, without interfering with the peculiar religious opinions of any.
>
> Guided by this principle, the Society conceived that the most efficient *means* for attaining their object would be to promote the establishment of schools, wherein the Poor might be instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, on a cheap and expeditious

plan ; where the appointment of governors, teachers, and scholars should be uninfluenced by sectarian distinctions.

After this statement, astounding indeed in view of the invariably Protestant composition of their own Board of Directors, the Kildare Place Society attached to the statement of object, leading principle, and means, the following appendage. They enacted that in these schools of theirs

> The Scriptures, without note or comment, should be used, to the exclusion of all catechisms and books of religious controversy. As all denominations of Christians profess that the Sacred Scriptures are the criterion by which they desire to have their peculiar tenets examined, the Society determined rigidly to adhere to this part of their Plan, looking forward to it with confidence as the only true and solid foundation which can be laid for the moral and religious education of the great body of the people of Ireland.

The text of this passage, the opening sentence of which was to be the pivot of attack for the Catholic education movement led by O'Connell from 1820 to 1831, well merits close scrutiny. Constituting themselves the expounders of the " only true and solid " norm not alone of Protestant practice, but of Catholic doctrine in respect of religion itself and of religious and moral education, the Kildare Place Society astutely coupled, with the new State principle of 1812, its own executive plans. These plans, essentially Protestant and antagonistic to Catholic faith and practice, fall into three divisions. The exclusive sufficiency of the Scriptures as *the* criterion of divine faith is the first. The second is the tenet of individual sifting of the sacred text, as a test of the validity of what is held by divine faith. The third is the clear implication that the existing Catholic schools, all over Ireland, were devoid of any possible " true and solid foundation for the moral and religious education " of the Irish people.

But these Plans, available in their precise wording only for the very small knot of Protestant subscribers to the Kildare Place Society, were not well understood at the

time in Ireland as a whole. Several hundred Catholic schools had derived some aid from the public funds, through Kildare Place, before the situation was realised. When it was understood, action was imperative. In 1818, a request from a Catholic school in County Kildare was accompanied by a question as to whether, as an indispensable condition of this aid, the Scriptures must be read in the various classes without note or comment. The Society had to disclose its position explicitly. The answer came to the knowledge of Lord Cloncurry, a member of the Society, who informed O'Connell. He brought the issue forward as soon as possible, at the General Meeting in Kildare Place, 1819, but on technical forms a full debate was then denied. That full debate could no longer be evaded in February, 1820. It was memorable and decisive in the history of Kildare Place. It made O'Connell the pioneer of a constructive popular movement, an excellent training ground for the work of the formidable Catholic Association that grew up in tremendous national strength between 1823 and 1825. It called out Bishops and priests, in a public issue at once religious and civic, to their due positions as general and local leaders in organisation. It showed O'Connell as an explicitly Catholic statesman, and gave his matured powers of critical analysis, doctrinal exposition, and tactical wisdom a splendid opportunity. Kildare Place, forewarned by some symptoms of 1817 and 1818, had reset its policy on paper, so as to elevate the sentence on Scripture, long relegated to the position of an addendum to a statement of "means," into the new status of a "leading principle."

O'Connell's statement of the Catholic case, terse and argumentative, was directed to secure an inquiry into whether the *means* imposed from Kildare Place, the rule as to the Scriptures, was compatible with the declared *leading principle*, equal treatment for all religious professions. The essential sentences of his speech, addressed

to the Duke of Leinster, who presided, may be here cited. The Duke had, in April 1819, vainly endeavoured to induce Kildare Place Directors to alter their attitude, and not to insist on Catholic children reading Scripture without note or comment.

My Lord Duke—I rise to call the attention of your Lordship and of this meeting to a subject which cannot but be of grave importance to the interests of this Society. My only object is a strict adherence to the avowed principle of this Society. It is one which every lover of his country should hail with joy. "The leading principle by which the Society shall be guided, is to afford the same facilities for education to all classes of professing Christians, without any attempt to interfere with the peculiar religious opinions of any." It will be melancholy indeed if this first avowal of your principle, a noble and a blessed principle for Ireland, should be found to have been evaded by any inconsistency in your practice.

After the statement of your principles, your object, and your measures, comes the resolution to which I object. It is a postscript to the principle and the means. It renders the one nugatory and the other absurd. "As it is conceived that the schools best adapted to the circumstances of Ireland are those in which the Scriptures, without note or comment, shall be read, but all catechisms and books of controversy excluded, the funds of the Society shall be devoted to the support of such schools alone." I contend that here is denied the leading principle on which the Institution was founded. The question is, whether the making it a preliminary requirement to give the Bible to children without note or comment, does not violate the principle. I say it does. As long as you insist on its being a schoolbook, you do not afford equal opportunity to Catholics. I will tell you the course which you ought, as honest men, to pursue. You ought to re-model your resolution, and give aid to such Christians as refuse to use the Scriptures without note or comment. The Bible can never be received, without comment, by Catholics. We believe that the entire word of God has not been preserved in writing. Catholics must have tradition, which also we call the word of God. Every Catholic is bound to assert this. In your resolution you assert the opposite.

There are abundant facts. All I call for, ask for, is investigation. My proposal is: "*Resolved* that, highly approving of the avowed principle of this Association, it be referred to a Committee

of Seven to report whether the means hitherto adopted be the best suited to the fair, candid and full carrying into effect of that principle."

A tense debate followed. Lord Cloncurry supported O'Connell: the speakers for the Kildare Place Society took up then the inflexible attitude which they ever afterwards maintained. At the division, 19 voted for O'Connell's motion; 80 subscribers supported the Committee and the Scripture clause, and would not submit it to any investigation. Having announced the result, the Duke of Leinster stated that he agreed with the minority. O'Connell announced that he and his friends would no longer be members of the Society.

The next day, 25 February, 1820, O'Connell issued a Letter to the Catholic Prelates of Ireland. Having stated the facts as to the meeting, he declared that this Society which had rejected his reasonable motion, included among its members "some of the bitterest enemies of Catholic rights and of religious liberty. Judge you, my Lords, how safe the poor and unprotected Irish peasant boy must be in their hands." He urged a constructive forward policy, which would leave the Kildare Place Directors to "console themselves, as well as they can, over (I trust) the expiring embers of Proselytism." The imputation of Proselytism was at once challenged by the writers of the impugned Committee, and repudiated in the most absolute terms. The truth of this charge was within a short time to be proved conclusively. The skilled pleader for the Catholic cause did not leave himself open to the retort that he had failed to advance in open meeting what he charged in his subsequent letter. "The spirit of proselytism is abroad," he warned the meeting; "I want this Society not to be a Bible Society." He spoke before the Orpens, Sergeant Lefroy, and George Knox, who were Directors at once of the Kildare Place Society and of the Bible Society, an openly proselytising Association with its meeting place at St. Ann's Anglican

Church, close to Kildare Street. He spoke, too, before James La Touche and Peter La Touche, Directors both of the Kildare Place Society and of the proselytising Sunday School Bible Society. O'Connell knew his men, and his shaft went home. In 1824, it was found even by the Ascendancy Royal Commission of that year, that the public funds entrusted to Kildare Place were being distributed to over 400 of these overtly and admittedly proselytising schools. The "liaison" system of Committee-men was not for nothing. The leading witness for Kildare Place, "long-headed Sam Bewley," pleaded that he was "not aware of what the rules of those Societies are"; his colleague, Richard Warren, when asked was not this inconsistent with the Kildare Place Rules, replied: "Not inconsistent, but very inexpedient." Very inexpedient it was that they should thus be found out. Peel, the author of the grants to Kildare Place in 1815, wrote to them in 1824 to hold firm. But he had soon to send them word, through the Castle, that the grants in aid of schools of other School Societies, avowed proselytising organisations, had better be discontinued by the Kildare Place Society. This was done promptly, before the Commission Report appeared.

That Report of 1825, coming from an Ascendancy majority of four out of five, which included even the notorious member for Trinity College, Leslie Foster, was an open confession of the situation which had rapidly developed all over Ireland since local and national organisation of Catholic education was begun by O'Connell. He was aided effectively by Dr. Doyle, Dr. Sughrue, Dr. O'Shaughnessy of Killaloe, and other bishops; by a vast number of priests, and by many young Catholic laymen, such as Roger Therry. It was in this way that young Therry, just out of Clongowes Wood College, entered on his fine career as a Catholic man of action. He was Secretary to the new Catholic Organisation; he devised its local plans, superintended the preparation and issue

of its pamphlets and text books. Both as a writer and as a speaker he was next to O'Connell in the movement, from 1820 to 1824; his expositions of Catholic principles in education, like those of his great leader, would be well worth study to-day. What he learned under O'Connell, he was to maintain in the equally difficult times which he lived through as the first Catholic judge in Australia. The effects of the new Catholic policy of constructive action were rapidly observed. "The Roman Catholic Clergy have opposed the Society, particularly of late, with the utmost industry and zeal" was the finding of the Royal Commission in 1825. Great reductions of numbers in the attendance of Catholic pupils at the Kildare Place Schools were speedily effected by the new Catholic movement in 1820-1823, and to this the public addresses of O'Connell powerfully contributed. The progress made was still greater when, in the years 1823-1826, he directed to this excellent purpose no small part of the energies of the Catholic Association. He was able to continue the work when Peel and Plunkett, two names of sinister import in the assaults on Catholic Education in Ireland from 1815 to 1865 and later still, combined to suppress that national organisation for national and religious rights. No small part of the Catholic "Rent," the weekly contribution of all Ireland to the good cause, was wisely directed by O'Connell into the production of sound textbooks for schools; the output of the Catholic Book Society, in four or five years, quite eclipsed the best that Kildare Street could put forward. In this field, the work of Dr. John England, then become Bishop of Charleston, U.S.A., was both widely varied and always of outstanding quality. The incisiveness of his School Manual of Irish History, which came down to 1810 in its narrative, called out the indignation of the Royal Commission of 1824-26, and was specially attacked by Archbishop William Magee of Dublin, in the English House of Lords.

Kildare Place and its supporters in the Castle and in the Houses of Parliament, on the other hand, maintained their claims with strenuous insistence during all the years from 1821 to 1831. It has justly been said that the successive manifestations of the Ascendancy in Ireland have always "died hard". Even when a carefully packed Royal Commission had to submit about Kildare Place, its rules, its methods, and its financial activities, a Report which led Kildare Place to term the creation of that Commission "a disastrous appointment," it defiantly proclaimed, in large capitals on the front of its 1830 Report, the watchword: "Cling to your Principles." The advice of its own President, the Marquis of Downshire, to reconsider its position and its rules, was rejected as firmly as O'Connell's overture was rejected ten years before. The Kildare Place Society had, in the circumstances of the time, good reason to hold out. Against the 8000 Catholic schools, which had no aid from public funds, their control of these funds gave them a very obvious advantage. They had powerful friends in the Castle, in Parliament, in the Cabinet. Peel, who endowed them in 1815, was now leader of the Tory party in the Commons House. Composed, as its Board of Directors was, of opulent Dublin bankers, lawyers, merchants, professional men, it commanded the support of the landlords of Ireland in a very special way. That support was accorded all through the years of struggle, most of all from 1825 to 1830, without stint. It opened up a new and terrible record of oppression practised on the Catholic people of Ireland, the history of which has yet to be written. That record extends from the cruelties of the Clare landlords in the twenties of the last century on to the savage policies of forty years later, practised on estates such as those of Plunket and Trench and Persse in Galway, O'Donel and Browne in Mayo, to mention only a few out of many. In 1831-1832 O'Connell stated the situation in

speeches at Westminster. On September 9, 1831, he affirmed :—

Coercion has been practised on the fathers of children who do not go to the Schools of the Kildare Place Society. They have been driven out of their homes, and reduced to beggary and starvation. I can prove that cases of this kind are not of rare occurrence. I do not hesitate to say that many of the disorders in Clare are owing to the Kildare Place and other Education Societies.

Again, on 21 May, 1832 :—

I shall oppose every attempt to interfere with the religious education of Catholic children. Let Protestants educate their own children as they choose. All that Catholics ask is to be allowed the same privilege. The grossest oppression has been practised in compelling Catholic parents, under the penalty of starvation, to send their children to the Kildare Place Schools. Against this system I have loudly protested.

To this he again recurs ten days later :—

The disturbances in Clare proceeded from the cruel persecution by the bigots in that County, seeking to force Catholic children into the hands of Protestant teachers.

These shocking conditions prevailed very widely in Ireland when in October, 1831, the Government issued from the Irish Office, London, its definitive verdict on the Kildare Place Society and all its policy. It was a complete, if very reluctant, condemnation and rejection, on the grounds stated by O'Connell in 1820, of that system :

The Commissioners of 1812 recommended a System of Education from which should be banished even the suspicion of proselytism. The Government of the day *imagined* that they had found a body acting upon a system such as was recommended, and entrusted the National Grants to the Kildare Street Society. His Majesty's present Government cannot but be sensible that one of its leading principles was calculated to defeat its avowed objects, as experience has proved. It *seems* to have been *overlooked* that the Roman Catholic Church (to which the bulk of the pupils must necessarily belong) was totally at variance with this principle, the determination to enforce, in all their schools, the reading of Holy Scripture without note or comment. This vital

defect began to be noticed, and the Roman Catholic Clergy began to exert themselves with energy and success against a system to which they were on principle opposed. When this opposition arose, founded on such grounds, it soon became manifest that the system could not become one of National Education.

The wholehearted appreciation which O'Connell had of integral and positively Catholic education was fully shown in the support, moral and financial, which at his instance the Catholic Organisation gave to Edmund Ignatius Rice and the Irish Christian Brothers in the years 1827-1828, for their new Dublin foundation which was to be a centre of training and teaching to serve all Ireland. The new State system of 1831 he welcomed as a happy deliverance from the great evils of principle and practice which attached to the Kildare Place system. In this sense, and with a prudent reserve fully justified by the events of 1832-1853, he declared on September 9, 1831, that he

looked upon the proposed changes as the commencement of a new era in Ireland: and he sincerely *hoped that the promises which were made would be fully realised.*

This hope proved fallacious to a large extent, and by 1838 he had accepted Archbishop MacHale's resolute resistance to the rule of Whately and Carlile over Catholic schools. It failed to give Catholics what he claimed as their strict right in 1831:

I do not wish to interfere in the least degree with Kildare Place, or any other Protestant Society, in the manner in which they educated Protestants. Let them be educated in Scripture or any other course of study, as they pleased. But Catholic children should share impartially in the funds apportioned to Education, and have its benefits, accompanied by their own mode of Religious Instruction.

With such principles of Catholic action O'Connell came to deal, in 1844-45, with Peel's University Plan.

T. Corcoran.

MEXICO AND THE PRESS

BY FRANCIS McCULLAGH.

WHEN, in the year 1898, I first began to write for the *New York Herald*, American editors were ready to take anything " fit to print " in the way of news, and were particularly anxious for " scoops " and for hints about coming events in the political, diplomatic and military worlds. Five years later, when I was living in Japan, I dropped Mr. James Gordon Bennett a hint to the effect that there would probably be war in six months between Russia and Japan; and, like the born journalist he was, he backed me up like a sportsman, greatly to my benefit and also (as I learned afterwards from his manager) to the benefit of his own paper.

Since that time American journalism has undergone a great change, so far at least as Mexico is concerned. The editors are as enterprising as ever, but the owners of great newspapers, who are often millionaires but seldom journalists, exercise a strict censorship over the news columns, not because they love peace and quietness but because they love money, political power, social consideration, the favour of governments, and the esteem of great bankers. I shall give an instance of what I mean. In 1927 I visited Mexico for the second time, and in New York, on my way back, I told the editors of all the leading papers that there would soon be civil war in Mexico. Many of them agreed with me, but their millionaire owners refused to let them take my articles. The motives of those magnates I can only guess at, and I

have guessed at it a good deal in the book I have written about Mexico, so that I need not trouble the reader with any further guesses here; but the fact remained that the American newspapers continued prophesying smooth things about Mexico, though they knew perfectly well that a smash-up was coming.

I was successful, however, in persuading a great American news-agency, McClure's, to print over a dozen of my articles on Mexico, and in these articles I foretold more or less accurately the disorder which has since come to pass. I shall quote a few of the things I said in this series.

I have just spent six weeks in Mexico, absolutely "on my own." It was the same method I used in penetrating Bolshevik Russia in 1919 and 1920.

The picture I discovered behind the thick veil of drastic censorship is, in many respects, more horrifying in Mexico than the picture I saw in Russia. It makes me ask myself: "Are we witnessing the break-up of a nation as a result of the utter incompetence and corruption of its government?"

Business is prostrate. All the ordinary processes of life are paralyzed by the twin fears of sudden death and helpless ruin.

A sanguinary civil war is imminent.

Every Mexican recognizes the imminence of a dreadful crisis. Callista and Conservative alike, when they are able to do so, have sent their families and their funds to the safety of the United States. Los Angeles and San Antonio hotels are filled with the former, and the banks are loaded with the latter. Many of Calles's own relations, much of his fortune, are north of the border.

As for the political situation, there is every sign of a three-cornered civil war and a general smash-up.

The head of one diplomatic Mission expressed to me his regret that "we shall be cut off from the sea when Gomez takes Vera Cruz—No more mail, no more supplies from home—very awkward! I am doubtful if the wine we ordered will get here before the trouble begins."

Though the "election" will not take place till July 1928, everybody is getting ready for trouble which may come sooner, and quite suddenly.

With characteristic foresight the British Community in Mexico

City has just decided to enlarge its cemetery, and, with that object in view, has started a vigorous " drive " for subscriptions ; while, in view of the Federal Capital being isolated before the end of the year, the American club is busy importing alcoholic refreshments.

All this may seem very sensational, but events have shown that it was a good forecast. Calles, it is true, murdered Serrano and Gomez before they were quite ready to murder him, and the assassination of Obregón produced complications which I could not possibly have anticipated ; but if Gomez did not take Vera Cruz, General Jesus Aguirre did take it, and if Serrano did not raise the flag of revolt, Escobar did raise it, with the result that at the moment of writing (March 17, 1929), civil war is raging throughout Mexico.

The silence imposed on itself by the American Press has not therefore ameliorated the political situation in Mexico. The smooth prophesies of the leader-writers, and the Pacifists, and the Protestant " missionaries," and the philosophic Radicals in the United States have not mitigated in the least the primitive passions of the bloodthirsty Calles crew.

My humble forecasts were relentlessly kept out of sight, however, and their fate makes me now wonder if the Trust system of journalism is wholly good, the system which places all the great newspapers under the control of a few powerful magnates. You may say " Nonsense," ! gentle reader, " There are many small but independent newspapers in the New World and in the Old " ; but though I agree, I claim that those newspapers are unable to make themselves audible, with the result that if you question the man in the street about the state of things in any country, you will find, as a rule, that he has derived his impressions from the Trust Press. Even the news agencies cater for that Press and the politicians support it, and the consequence is that small but honest newspapers, like " G.K.'s Weekly " for example, are obliged very

often to base their observations on facts selected by agencies which are neither small nor honest. Take, for example, the case of the present civil war in Mexico. All the facts about it come from American newspapers and agencies which consistently and continuously defend the Calles group and the action of the White House in supporting that group against the "rebels." Here in Paris, where I am writing this article, I find that even such a good Catholic newspaper as the *Echo de Paris* is meekly taking *all* its "facts" about this insurrection from—the Mexican Legation! Fletcher of Saltoun said: "Give me a nation's ballads, and let who will make the laws"!—a saying which, if brought up to date, might be made to read: "Let *me* send the news cables, and let who will write the leading articles"! The cables may seem, at first sight, to be composed of the hardest and most impartial of facts, but there is no propaganda in the world so subtle and so strong as that based on a careful selection of facts. A little paper in, say, New Haven, Conn., or in Skibbereen, Cork, may be the honestest in the world, but it will only be laughed at if it contradicts some of the thousand-word cables from Mexico in the great dailies of New York and London, and this for the simple reason that is has got no cable correspondent of its own in Mexico.

I do not mean, of course, that the cable correspondent dictates the policy of his paper; far from it: in the case of Mexico he is given general directions to favour Calles and oppose the enemies of Calles. Those general directions come through the news editor from the millionaire owner, and it is curious how they affect the whole staff down even to the "funny man" (or, perhaps, I should say "up to the 'funny man,'" for the humorist, especially if he is a caricaturist, is a very highly paid and important member of an American newspaper staff). The jokes of American humorists are now being made at the expense of Mexican "rebs" who do nothing but rob

banks; but this was exactly what was done by the cut-throats who followed Madero and Carranza, but who were nevertheless regarded by the American newspapers of the time as high-minded patriots. We have even the assertion of Theodore Roosevelt for the fact that Carranza's followers shot down hundreds in cold blood, tortured men supposed to be wealthy, cast forth from their homes hundreds of peaceful families, sacked the churches and maltreated priests and religious in the most infamous manner.

An editorial note which recently appeared in the Paris "Herald" will make my point clear. Under the heading of "supreme invention needed," the editor says:

> The firing squad in Mexico does not seem to put fear into the hearts of revolutionists any more than does the electric chair into the brutal brains of Chicago gunmen. Inventions spring into being as the urgent need of them is plainly demonstrated. What great benefactor of the human race will invent a new method for the definitive suppression of crime?

The man-in-the-streetcar, if he is unsophisticated or absent-minded or in a hurry, will say "Very sound, indeed," but this note is really very unsound, for it presupposes that anyone who tries to overthrow the Calles gang has "the brutal brains" of a Chicago gunman. Dr. Samuel Johnson said much the same thing about Washington, Franklin, and those bad people who tried to overthrow English rule in North America.

Does any of my readers wish to prove this question further? Yes. Well, then, let him take from the big American newspapers the news about the rebellion of the anti-Catholic Carranza in 1914, and place it alongside the news from the same newspapers about the anti-Calles rebellion in 1929. Before he has gone very far in his investigations, he will have seen that in the first instance the journalistic dice were very heavily loaded in favour of the rebels, because they were anti-clerical rebels, and that in the second instance the dice are just as heavily

loaded against the rebels because they are supposed to be clericalist and anti-Calles. The parallel could be made most deadly, but it cannot be drawn here owing to the very voluminousness of the records which would have to be consulted. Investigation of facts in ancient history is often rendered hard by reason of a paucity of documents, but investigation of facts in the history of yesterday and the day before is rendered equally difficult by the stupendous mass of printed material which bears on them, and by the greater ease with which omission and selection can be made by the experts who guide this overwhelming Niagara of news. Take one instance. Does any of my readers know the immediate causes that led to the present civil war in Mexico? I don't think so, for the really important proclamations of the "rebels" were not printed in any of the American newspapers. They reached me, however, in the shape of odd sheets from a worn-out copying press and I could see from them that in their fight against the multitudinous illegalities of Calles, the *insurrectos* are as much in the right as John Hampden. Yet educated Catholics in the United States know much less of the reasons which made Escobar revolt than Mazarin or Turenne or Condé or the leaders of the Fronde or even the average educated subject of Louis XIV. knew of the reasons which drove Oliver Cromwell into rebellion.

But it was more than a question of loaded journalistic dice, it was a question of trucks loaded with rifles and ammunition crossing the Rio Grande without let or hindrance for the benefit of Carranza, when Carranza was quite as much of a rebel as Escobar is to-day. Writing in the *New York Times* of December 6, 1914, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt said: "The act of permitting the passage of arms across the frontier, on the part of Wilson, meant that he not only actively helped the insurrection, but without any doubt provided the means of achieving success . . . The United States would not have had

the least responsibility for what has been done to the Church, if the faction which committed those outrages had not been enabled to triumph by the United States. But since the United States took part in a civil war in Mexico, in the manner in which Wilson and Bryan obliged our Government to take part, this country, through this act alone, is responsible for the horrible injustices, the terrible outrages, committed by the victorious revolutionaries against hundreds of believers of both sexes . . . . He (Wilson) not only consorted with iniquity but openly supported it, and put in power men whose actions were those of ferocious barbarians."

Those ferocious barbarians are now being kept in power by President Hoover, who has sold them ten thousand rifles and one million rounds of ammunition and as many aeroplanes as they want, while preventing the "rebels" from importing as much as a Mauser cartridge. Federals who are driven across the frontier are allowed to travel through American territory in order to rejoin the army of Calles at some other point. They are even allowed to march into Texas and traverse American territory in order to re-enter Mexico at some place where they will be able to attack the "rebs" in the rear.[1] On the other hand, "rebs" who cross the frontier are not allowed to return, or to work against the Gil Government on United States territory; and if they have large sums of money in their possession, it will be taken from them and handed over to the nearest Mexican consul.

[1] "The Insurgents, bravely using old Ford tractors converted into tanks, were sharply attacking the town of Naco, in Sonora, when the Callist garrison suddenly received a reinforcement of about 300 soldiers. These were Callists who had fled across the border some weeks ago, after an insurgent victory. They had been interned, according to the practice of nations, at Fort Bliss, a post belonging to the U.S.A. The commander at Fort Bliss, if we are correctly informed, was instructed to treat these soldiers as irregular and unacceptable immigrants and to put them back into Mexican territory. The ugliness of the affair lies in the fact that the men were taken by train through Arizona and repatriated at the exact point of time and place which enabled the Callists to beat off what would probably have been an overwhelming attack if this aid had not arrived."—*The Tablet* (London), April 13th.

Theoretically they can keep it, if they prove that they are the rightful owners of it and are not mere bank robbers, but even if they are the rightful owners, it may be difficult for them to prove it off-hand. They may be refugees who only had time to scrape together all the money in the house and to bolt—without passport or identification papers. These new-fangled regulations about the confiscation of money found on refugees may lead to every kind of abuse and even to murder, for there is a very great deal of corruption and illegality among American officials along the Mexican border, especially in Arizona. At a time like the present, I should not like to be a law-abiding Mexican crossing into Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, or even California surreptitiously and by night with a considerable sum of money in my possession, even though that money was my own, or belonged to friends who wished me to put it in a place of safety.

These regulations will make it impossible for the rebels to succeed in their present insurrection, as they make impossible the purchase of arms in the United States: envoys of Escobar crossing into the United States with money for the purchase of arms will have very little chance now of eluding the official and unofficial guards on the frontier. But an even stronger reason for the defeat which surely awaits the *insurrectos* is the fact that the Federals can get from America all the aeroplanes and automobiles they want, while the rebels cannot import aeroplanes or automobiles or automobile parts. Automobiles are not so important in Mexico because of its bad roads, nevertheless, other things being equal, they give victory to the side which has a monopoly of them. In the Transvaal, where the roads are as bad and as few as in Mexico, Botha crushed the De Wet rebellion in 1915 by means of the automobile. The aeroplane is a still more deadly foe to the Mexican *insurrecto*, for it can spy him out and bomb him on the

hills[1]; and as the United States can thus turn the scales of any civil conflict in Mexico by giving arms, ammunition, automobiles, and aeroplanes to the side which is most subservient to Uncle Sam, the independence of Mexico may now be regarded as at an end.

Mr. Morrow has done his work well, and if he were British he would be hailed as a great proconsul like Lord Cromer and sent to the House of Lords. Calles yielded to him absolutely on the Oil question, and now he is keeping his part of the bargain and getting American support for Calles. If Calles were ousted by Escobar and a Catholic Government to-morrow, the Hoover administration would start an agitation against Escobar on the charge that in his past life he murdered somebody or failed to salute the American flag, just as the Wilson administration started a similar agitation against Victoriano Huerta, and the end of it would be the restoration of Calles to Chapultepec under American auspices.

Wars have been caused by reckless and inflammatory newspapers: the Spanish-American war, for example, would probably not have taken place were it not for the

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[1] Since the above was written the following editorial note has appeared in *The Tablet* (London) of April 13th: "*The Tablet's* information, derived from three sources in the U.S.A., is to the effect that this (American) assistance is of the most formidable kind. The military aeroplanes prepared by experts on Long Island for use in Mexico have a speed of over 150 miles an hour. They carry nearly a ton of high explosives, parcelled in bombs easily released from bomb-dropping racks of the latest pattern. Moreover, each 'plane carries two machine-guns. It was not through superior bravery or generalship that Plutarco Calles inflicted a disaster upon General Escobar to the north of Jimenez last week, but through the deadliness of these Long Island machines. General Escobar was on the point of winning one more move in his clever game of drawing General Calles further and further northward towards the Bachimba Pass and he was successfully withdrawing his men and stores, when the aircraft from President Hoover's arsenals overtook him. So frightful was the sequel that we do not trust ourselves to give it in our own words. Everybody knows that a beaten army is inclined to make wild charges against the victor, such as the shelling of field ambulances and firing on the Red Cross. Such charges are definitely made in this instance by General Escobar against the Federal leaders; and we should receive them with caution if they stood alone. We are not dependent, however, upon the testimony of Escobar. Calles himself, in despatches to Mexico City which will stand in history, described the slaughter as a veritable and stupendous butchery of the Insurgents."

frenzied mendacity of the *New York Journal*, but silence may be as misleading and as harmful eventually as loquacious falsehood, especially if it is unaccompanied by any attempt to publish the case of poor people who are oppressed beyond human endurance. If, in some European country, a conscientious journalist sincerely believed that there would be chaos within a year unless a certain system of oppression were modified, he would be bound, I think, to say so; and if the great newspapers refused to publish his articles, the world would be no gainer by this reticence which would only mean war and revolution sprung suddenly on an unprepared world like a bolt from the blue. And this system, I may add, would benefit the rich far more than it would benefit the poor; for, owing to their better information, the rich could do certain things on the Stock Exchange with their investments, whereas the poor would be drugged by a long course of optimistic news into a condition of somnolent inaction.

To turn, however, from these general considerations to the particular case of the United States, it is always forgotten by American Radicals and Protestants who criticize my humble self for the hard things I have said about ex-President Calles, that in 1926 much harder things were said of that gentleman by President Coolidge. Let me point out therefore that at first President Coolidge took a strong line with Mexico; and, on June 12, 1925, Secretary Kellog declared that Mexico was "now on trial before the world," and reminded Calles of the probability of a revolutionary change of government in Mexico if Washington withdrew its support. In a remarkable series of articles recently written for the *Outlook* (New York) by Senor Villegas, that gentleman maintains that, by holding the language he held on this occasion, Mr. Kellog admitted "officially for the first time that the Mexican radicals are in power largely because of the assistance of the United States."

Calles received this declaration calmly, however, for he was surrounded by a group of American radicals and American Protestant "missionaries" who soon "put him wise" to the exact state of feeling in the United States. They told him that Coolidge was bluffing, and that the Methodists, Baptists, and Pacifists would scare the life out of him if he attempted to make war. And they did scare the life out of him. The Methodists are particularly well organised, and when they interfere in politics (as they often do), they always get what they want. They have now established in the shadow of the Capitol a powerful organization called "the Methodist Board of Temperence, Prohibition, and Public Morals," which boldly tells timid congressmen and senators what they must do. With this organization is allied a number of evangelical and other bodies, which form a link with the Radicals and Pacifists and even, on pacifist questions, with the Communists. They now declare that they will make every government employee "get on the water waggon," but there are signs of revolt against their dictation both in Congress and in the Senate.

They were successful, however, in frightening Mr. Coolidge off the Mexican question, and their success is a measure of their power in the United States, whereas the failure of the Catholics to stir up public interest in Mexico is, frankly, a measure of their weakness. While the Protestants in favour of Calles made President Coolidge eat his own words, the Catholics could not make him continue his original, anti-Calles policy; and despite the splendid work done by Archbishop Curley and by Bishop Kelley of Oklahoma in showing that the American Government itself was responsible for the maintenance of "Red" rule in Mexico, President Hoover has, in March 1929, given as much support to Calles and his creature Gil as Coolidge gave to Obregón or as Wilson gave to Carranza. This is entirely due to the popularity which Calles enjoys among American Protestant organizations with their

headquarters in the United States and with "missions" scattered all over Mexico. Then, again, the American Radicals are all on the side of Calles owing to his advanced socialistic legislation, while the American Pacifists are against all war. This combination of forces made Mr. Coolidge change his policy, recall Mr. Sheffield, and send Mr. Dwight Morrow to attempt a policy of conciliation. Leaving the religious question altogether on one side, Mr. Dwight Morrow induced Calles to give way on the Oil question, and this surrender killed all opposition to Calles among American capitalists and in the offices of all the great newspapers.

The only opposition which remained was that of the Catholics; but it is now clear that the influence of the Catholic Church in the United States is not strong: among religious bodies, the dominating influence in the United States is Protestant. The defeat of Governor Alfred E. Smith shows this. It was a veritable slap in the face for Catholics. *The Catholic Charities Review* (Dec. 1928) was quite right in saying that it was "the greatest demonstration of religious bigotry that the nation has ever seen."

The defeat of Governor Smith [said the same American periodical, and personally I endorse every word it says] is probably the most important religious event in the history of the United States. No person, who is not blind to the facts, can fail to see in it a striking evidence of the progress that evangelical Protestantism has made in the development of a Calvinistic Commonwealth on this side of the Atlantic. The Protestant churches have once more used the arm of the State in order to enforce their religious principles.

So far as Protestant leaders are concerned, America no longer embodies the principles of Washington, Hamilton and Jefferson. Their camp followers did not, and the Protestant Church leaders of to-day certainly do not, or, to put the question more pointedly, they believe in religious freedom for Jews, Atheists, Socialists, but for Catholics—no . . . . . .

We now know the truth and, for this reason, should feel all the freer. If there was any doubt before as to whether or not

the United States is a Protestant country, that doubt has been dispelled. If one believes that Protestantism is dead, let him study the election returns and revise his estimate. It is well for us to keep in mind always that the dominant elements of American evangelical Protestantism are not entirely satisfied with the freedom enjoyed by Catholics in this country . . . . . There is no prophet that can foretell the influence that the election is going to have on the status of Catholics in the United States. Some of our writers can keep on explaining away until they are able to return to their fools' paradise, but no amount of explaining can control the forces that were released on November 6.

I make these long quotations because of their close bearing on the Mexican question, for though it may not seem to be so at first sight, there is in fact some connection between that question and the defeat of Governor Smith. This I learned from my own experiences with a little book of mine, *Red Mexico*, which a daring publisher attempted to issue in America during the heat of the electoral campaign last Autumn. The fate of an ephemeral compilation is a small matter in comparison with the great issues involved in the return of Mr. Smith, but as a straw shows how the wind blows, so the experiences of *Red Mexico* in the United States last Autumn show how the politico-religious winds blow there. I refer, therefore to these experiences since they prove (1) the timidity of American Catholicism on the subject of Mexico; and (2) the almost incredible virulence and unfairness of Calles's Protestant and Radical friends on the American Press.

According to a statement made by my American publisher in the *New York World* (Dec. 15, 1928), the publication of this book had to be postponed five times owing to the fear of Governor Smith's Catholic friends that it would raise the religious issue at the presidential elections. The following is a part of his statement:—

When the book was in plate form and ready for the Press, its imminent publication was drawn to the attention of Governor Alfred E. Smith, as the very nature of its contents was considered

likely to turn the book into a football to be kicked around in the political arena. The Democratic National Committee had the matter considered by the Special Committee acting in an advisory capacity on matters relating to the religious issue which became so prominent in the presidential campaign. This Committee requested that publication be deferred until after the election, and in the best interests of both candidates, work on the book was suspended, all proof copies were called in, and particular care was taken that no proofs should be allowed to reach campaign workers on either side . . . . . .

Red Mexico had been chosen by the Board of Editors as the book of the month of the Catholic Book Club, but two of the seven editors expressed minority disapproval and, when overridden by the other five, denounced the book so strenuously that it was withdrawn, the Catholic Book Club limiting itself to a strong recommendation that the book be read by all members.

Finally, the publisher said that Mr. Michael Williams, editor of the *Commonweal* (a Catholic publication) and a member of the advisory committee referred to, had written to him requesting postponement of publication.

The principal thesis which I put forward in my book was that the troubles which have agitated Mexico for the last hundred years are partly due to the support given consistently by the American Government to a small party in Mexico which calls itself " advanced," " liberal," " republican," and " revolutionary," but whose driving force is really anti-clericalism and an insatiable thirst for ecclesiastical and other property. I also maintained that the only constructive work ever done in Mexico was done by the Church, by the Spanish Colonial Governments, and by Presidents, like Porfirio Diaz, who were not anti-clerical. I did not maintain that Mexico should consequently have remained permanently under the rule of Spain, or that the Mexican hierarchy should have been entrusted with the civil as well as with the ecclesiastical government of the country, though a heated Radical reviewer denounced me in the *New York Evening Post* (Feb. 2) for advocating " Church rule " in Mexico.

I never advocated any such thing, and the Mexican Church itself would never accept any such offer. Mexico should, of course, be ruled by laymen; it should be a republic; and it would have been a solid, prosperous, powerful (though at first a rather conservative) republic had the United States refrained from assisting the anti-clerical minority to which I have just referred.

I gave many instances of such interference, and, so far as I know, my facts have not been disputed. Throughout America Methodists, Communists, Pacifists, and Radicals are accusing me of being a black reactionary who wants a crowned and tonsured Mussolini enthroned at Chapultepec, but I only went into the historical facts of the case, as any reader of my book can see for himself, and I still believe that American influence in Mexico has, on the whole, been a bad influence because it is mainly an anti-Catholic influence, entirely out of keeping with the civilization and the spirit of Latin America. I pointed to the significant fact that the further one gets away from the United States in the direction of the South Pole, the stronger and healthier one finds the Latin civilization, the strongest and most successful growths of all being in Argentina and Chile, which are both of them geographically further from the United States than any other countries in the New World. I gave the record of Calles, a very bad record; and I told of several martyrdoms.

But honest misunderstanding as well as dishonest misrepresentation seem inevitable, on one side or the other, in any discussion which touches on religion; and perhaps I should think less of unfair criticism than of the sympathetic letters on the subject of Mexico which I have received from American readers, some of them Protestants and at the same time great authorities on Mexico.

FRANCIS MCCULLAGH.

THE MIDDLE AGES FROM INSIDE[1]

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

RARELY has it happened to the present writer to meet with a book in which good and bad workmanship are so strangely combined as in this English version of Caesarius of Heisterbach. The *Dialogus Miraculorum*, as many will know who are familiar with the original, possesses in itself a charm which almost qualifies it to rank with the early Franciscan literature now so diligently studied. Dr. G. G. Coulton—it is pleasant for once to find ourselves in agreement with him—has been well advised in selecting this work for translation in the Broadway Medieval Library of which he acts as editor. He contributes an Introduction and is presumably responsible for the well-chosen illustrations which here and there adorn its pages. Barring a remark about St. Thomas Aquinas and the attitude of the saved towards the manifestation of God's justice in the torments of hell, there is nothing in the editor's comments upon the *Dialogus* to which we need take exception.

Caesarius, who entered the Cistercian abbey of Heisterbach in 1198 and became successively master of novices and prior, sets out to instruct the younger members of his Order in the spirit of their religious vocation. With that object he adopted the favourite medieval device of teaching by examples. His book, divided into twelve "Distinctions," is in point of fact nothing but a great collection of stories in which the "Monk" recalls anecdote after anecdote and moralises on them, while the

[1] *The Dialogue on Miracles.* By Caesarius of Heisterbach. Translated by H. Scott and C. Swinton Bland, with an Introduction by G. G. Coulton, General Editor of the Series. Two Vols. London: Routledge. Pp. xx. 546 and 374, with Illustrations. 1929. 36s.

"Novice,"[1] presumably with a view to breaking the monotony of a continuous discourse, occasionally interjects remarks, asks questions, or makes naive reflections upon the incidents recounted. Naturally the greater part of the subject matter is concerned more or less directly with the monastic life, but the method of treatment, which aims at confirming the vocation of aspirants by dwelling on the terrible fate of evil-doers in the world or in the cloister, on the power and malice of the devil, on the tender pitifulness of the Mother of God, on the wonderful miracles attesting the real presence of our Lord in the Eucharist, etc., etc., brings us into contact with all kinds of secular matters and with not a few episodes of contemporary history. We have, therefore, a very remarkable and varied picture of the religious aspects of life in northern Europe at the time when St. Francis and St. Dominic were setting great organisations in train to quicken the faith of the southern peoples.

Caesarius, as Dr. Coulton freely proclaims, was a good Cistercian monk, a worthy follower of the traditions of the founders of his Order. In spite of what seems a boundless credulity, he was honest and truth-loving. Moreover he was not without considerable gifts as a story-teller. An unmistakable sense of humour peeps out every now and then, and he shows freshness and originality in his method of treatment. Whether he was the first to recount the parable of *Date* and *Dabitur* (Give and It shall be given you) which became famous in after times, I am unable to say; but it is characteristic of him that he evidently took delight in the legend of the venerable stranger who came to the door of the decayed Benedictine abbey where formerly great hospitality and prosperity had prevailed. The porter, we are told, admitted the visitor "secretly and fearfully," and apologised for the

[1] In the earlier printed editions the characters in the dialogue appear as Caesarius and Apollonius. Dr. Strange apparently follows manuscript authority in substituting Monachus and Novitius for these designations.

lack of more generous welcome, pleading that the house had now fallen into grievous poverty; whereupon, as Caesarius continues—

> The other replied: "Two brethren have been driven out from this abbey, and never can it flourish again unless these brethren return. Their names are brothers Date and Dabitur"; and then he vanished. I think that he must have been some angelic personage, by whose agency the Lord desired to recall the Brethren to their former charity. The porter, who was a lay-brother, remembered the names without understanding them, and repeated to the abbot and brethren all that he had heard. Hospitality was renewed, and at once the Lord began to bless them as before.[1]

Two chapters further on, Caesarius drives the lesson home in these very impressive words :—

> To him, that has the grace of hospitality, and receives his guests with kindness, goodwill and a cheerful countenance, and who freely welcomes God's poor; to him it is the Lord's will that there shall be given as much, and sometimes . . . . a hundred-fold in this present life, and he shall have abundance, and in the world to come life everlasting. But he who has not the grace of alms-giving and hospitality, he who has no true welcome for his guests, and is reluctant to look upon the faces of the poor; he who gives them grudgingly just as much as he cannot refuse, from this man, by God's just decree, that which he possesses in temporal wealth either fails of itself, or is taken away and carried off by others, nor is it increased by the offerings of the faithful.[2]

When Dr. Coulton in his *Medieval Village* devoted so much space to expatiating upon the churchman's alleged lack of sympathy for the peasant,[3] he would have done well, I submit, to temper his picture with a few extracts from Caesarius, for example this pronouncement—"Not only is Christ martyred by infidels, but He is daily pierced and scourged by evil Christians through injuries done to His poor." And taking occasion from this remark our author goes on to relate how, when a certain lay-brother

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[1] *The Dialogue on Miracles*, I. p. 269.
[2] *Dialogue*, I. p. 271.
[3] See *Studies*, Dec., 1926, pp. 563-564.

shed tears to see a poor man brutally ill-used by the attendants of the Duke of Louvain, our Saviour appeared to that brother the same night in a dream and said: "I thank thee that yesterday thou hadst so much compassion upon Me, when the Duke's chamberlain beat Me so mercilessly without any cause."[1] At these words, we are told, "the lay-brother awoke and realised that our Lord still suffers in His members."

Caesarius, one feels, must have been a man with a warm heart, and I do not think that anyone, however prejudiced against Romanism and all that it stands for, could fail to be attracted by the humorous zest with which he tells the long story of his old master Ensfrid, the Dean of St. Andrew's, at Cologne. Ensfrid gave away to the poor everything that came into his hands, and caused endless trouble to his nephew and steward, Frederick, who felt it a duty to check this lavish generosity. One of the most charming incidents is the following:—

> Once when Frederick . . . . had a number of fine pigs which he killed and turned into hams, hanging them up in the kitchen to keep until they should be needed; the dean, who often looked into the kitchen, coveted very much this fine row of hams, and since he could not get any of them from his nephew by begging, and did not like to take them openly, he thought out a holy trick, a pious trick, a trick well worthy of remembrance. As often as he found nobody in the kitchen, he went in stealthily; or if there were any servants there he sent them out, and climbed up the steps to the row of hams, and cut out slices from the part of each ham that was next the wall, until he had taken about half of each. The front part however he left untouched, so that the cutting of the rest might escape unnoticed. This he did for many days and distributed the flesh thus abstracted to widows, to anyone in want, and to orphans. At length the theft of the household goods was discovered, the thief was sought for and found without difficulty.
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> Frederick was furious; the dean said nothing until the former complained that he had lost what belonged to the brethren and the supplies of the whole year; and then the holy man tried to appease him with such words as he could, saying, "My good

[1] *Dialogue*, II., p. 29.

kinsman, it is surely better that you should suffer a little loss than that the poor should have died of hunger. The Lord will give you a full reward." And with these words Frederick was appeased, and upbraided him no more.[1]

Hardly less amusing is the account of Ensfrid's simplicity in allowing the choir boys to eat his cherries, with the result that they all made themselves ill, and the story of his giving away his breeches to a poor beggar, in place of which he wrapped his cloak around him to hide the absence of the missing garment. Unfortunately his nephew became suspicious of the truth and mischievously plied him with questions until the good old man grew scarlet with confusion. Dean Ensfrid's benevolent friends had a hard task to keep him decently clad, but it occurred to them at last that they might exercise some control by *lending* him the garments instead of making him a present of them. However even then the only result seems to have been that he wore them a little longer than usual.

Caesarius, while evidently touched as well as amused by the humour of these and similar incidents, was by no means blind to the fact that the world at large could not be run on those lines. There is much shrewd good sense in the comment which he offers in this connection.

> The simple man is sometimes compared to a clown or jester, for as their words or actions would often give offence in the mouth or hands of one who is not a jester, and would be worthy of punishment, yet when the same things are said or done by a jester they amuse us; and so it is with the simple-minded. The simple-minded, if I may so put it, are the jesters of God and His holy angels. But if those who are not really simple-minded were to act in the same way, they would certainly offend God, though He is pleased with these very things when the simple-minded do them.[2]

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[1] *Dialogue*, I. p. 399.

[2] *Dialogue*, I. p. 414. I have here modified somewhat the translation given. Caesarius no doubt will have had in mind the well-known story of the jongleur de Notre Dame.

Very charming again and human in its truth to child nature is this little incident which Caesarius inserts in his Distinction on Temptations :—

> Last year in a convent of our Order called Yesse, in Frisia, two little girls were put to learn lessons together. Since both were zealous scholars, a rivalry arose between them that each might surpass the other in industry and knowledge. Meanwhile it happened that one of them fell ill ; and she, envious of the advance of her companion, began to be sorely tried by her fear that the other might make great strides in her absence. And so she asked for the prioress and made her prayer to her, saying : " Good mistress, when my mother comes to see me, I will ask her for sixpence (*sex denarii*) which I will give to you if you will stop my sister from going on with her studies until I am well again, because I am afraid of her getting ahead of me." At which the prioress laughed, in great admiration of the child's keenness.[1]

The story prompts the Novice to ask : " What is the right medicine against envy " ? And there is surely wisdom in the Monk's laconic reply : " Loving service."

Let me add just one other illustration of the many delightful things contained in this book, although the story is unfortunately too long to allow of textual quotation. It concerns two nuns who both lost their tempers badly in a dispute over the rival merits of their respective patrons, St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. They had often wrangled over this matter before, and they used to grow so hot in arguing the point that the abbess could hardly control them. One night, however, a vision was vouchsafed to each of the two. St. John Baptist appeared to his own particular client and proved to her that his claims to sanctity were as nothing in comparison with those of the Evangelist, while the Evangelist showed himself to the other disputant and demonstrated as convincingly that the Precursor was far more exalted than himself. Both of the heavenly visitors, however, insisted on the same course of action, *viz.*, that his self-

[1] *Dialogue*, I. p. 222.

constituted champion should own herself in the wrong, and that in the presence of their Reverend Mother she should prostrate herself at her sister's feet and humbly beg forgiveness. The programme was duly carried out, much, we may believe, to the contentment of the Mother Abbess, "who warned them never in future to dispute about the merits of the saints, which are known to God alone."[1]

It must not, of course, be supposed that all the 700 or 800 stories told by Caesarius in his *Dialogus* are as free from any possible ground of offence as those just referred to. There is a great deal about devils and their intervention in human affairs, about souls hideously tormented in hell or purgatory, about miracles and visions which even the most docile believer in the supernatural would nowadays hesitate to accept as historical facts. There are even stories which are hardly edifying, so extravagantly do they extol the favour shown to sinners by the Mother of Mercy, stories in which a single casual act of devotion to her seems to outweigh a whole lifetime of immorality and reckless crime.[2] The view thus presented of God's justice is not always reconcilable with the theological principles which were as clearly laid down by the teachers of that day as they are now. But none the less the whole presents a wonderful picture of the religious mentality and the material conditions of the century in which Caesarius wrote. There are things good and evil, brutal punishments and little human justice; scandalous licence in the Church and sometimes even in the cloister; everywhere war, famine, plague and tyrannous oppression of the poor; but with all this there is also a very real sense of sin and faith in Jesus Christ, an appreciation of the beauty of purity and charity and renunciation, and

[1] *Dialogue*, II. p. 51.

[2] Most of these are older than Caesarius's time and can be traced to the vast congeries of *Marienlegenden* which have been studied and classified by Professor Mussafia. Caesarius no doubt reproduced them faithfully enough as he heard them recounted by his fellow monks, or as he had read them in some manuscript source.

above all the example of countless holy lives which only show the brighter for the darkness which surrounded them.

For the selection of this work of Caesarius and for the literary quality of the translation as a whole, readers have every reason to be grateful.[1] If the Rev. H. Scott, who began it, had lived to complete his task, there would probably have been little reason to complain; but the slipshod methods of Mr. Swinton Bland who, in spite of an unfortunate previous experience in rendering into English the Autobiography of Guibert de Nogent,[2] made bold to supply the place of Mr. Scott, have adorned the second volume with an almost unparalleled collection of blunders. No doubt the text of the continuation reads smoothly enough, but nearly everywhere, when any technical point occurs, the meaning is missed, and often the passage is converted into nonsense. If I go into some detail in justifying this criticism, my excuse must be that a book like that of Caesarius, which abounds in ceremonial minutiae and which has an exceptional interest for Catholic readers, ought not to be left to the tender mercies of a translator who is evidently quite unfamiliar with liturgical matters and knows little or nothing about either monasticism or medieval history. You do not engage a man who has never studied science to translate a book on chemistry, nor do you go to a naturalist if you want an English rendering of a treatise on music. Miss Evelyn Underhill lately, in reviewing this same translation, spoke of its "amusing stories, full of priceless information of the details of monastic routine." The description would be true enough if we were concerned with the Latin original, but the "details of monastic routine" will prove utterly misleading if we put confidence in the interpretation provided in the later sections of the book before us. I venture to assume that Mr. Scott must be

[1] It seems a pity however that the surviving portions of Caesarius's *Libri Octo Miraculorum*, of which the text was edited for the *Römische Quartalschrift* by A. Meister in 1901, have not been included in the scheme.

[2] See *The Month*, April, 1926, pp. 354-358; *Studies*, Dec., 1926, p. 673.

mainly responsible for the rendering in the first volume and Mr. Bland for the rest. One indication which confirms this view is the following: We learn from Dr. Coulton's Introduction that Mr. Scott continued his task even when, after a second paralytic stroke, he became unable to write, "dictating to his wife until his words were no longer intelligible." Now in Dist. VII., ch. 23 we have the story of a man whose tongue was cut out by the Albigensian heretics, and to whom our Lady brought a new one saying: "Because thou wast deprived of thy tongue for the sake of thy faith in my tongue and for the honour shown to me, behold I restore it thee." There is clearly something wrong about "thy faith in my tongue," and turning to the Latin one finds *propter fidem filii mei*. No doubt[1] the stricken man meant to dictate "thy faith in my Son," but he was indistinctly heard, and the blunder, like many others, has passed undetected in Mr. Bland's supposed "revision" of his manuscript.

Glancing casually through the translation before us, the first conundrum which awakened suspicion that all was not quite so well with this smoothly written narrative as its easy flow suggested, occurred in a Eucharistic story (Dist. IX., ch. 61) beginning thus:—

> A deacon of Steinveld . . . . Gerald by name, apostatizing, pretended that he had received priests' orders about four times, and the unhappy man was celebrating as it were his first Mass, a priest instructing him, in Cologne in the Church of St. Michael, &c.

A stranger who declared he had "received priest's orders about four times" would not, one imagines, have been admitted without question to say his first Mass by even the most easy-going of medieval parochi. I was tempted, therefore, to see how this curious claim was phrased in the Latin of Caesarius. It runs: *Diaconus quidam . . . . circa quatuor tempora se ordinem sacerdotalem suscepisse finxit.* In plain English, "the deacon pretended

[1] *Dialogue*, I., p. 489. [2] *Dialogue*, II., p. 164.

that he had been ordained priest at the Ember days or thereabouts."

Is it too much to expect that a scholar employed on such a task ought to have heard of *les quatre temps*, even if he did not know the German *Quatember*, (quat-tempora) which suggests a possible, if unsatisfactory, derivation of our English word? But, in any case, "about four times" as a rendering of *circa quatuor tempora* is an extraordinary suggestion to come from "the late Headmaster of Ripon School," whom Dr. Coulton highly commends as a translator on the ground of "his familiarity with classical Latin."[1]

But let us take a few more examples. In Dist. VIII., ch. 26, we may read the story of a deadly feud between two bands of knights. One party had gone to church to say their prayers, presumably leaving their arms at the door, and meanwhile an old woman treacherously betrayed them to their enemies. The other band rushed in, and according to the translation "even cut off the arms of the very crucifix and slew about 8,000 soldiers in the church."[2] Mr. Bland seems to have had no misgiving about the slaughter of 8,000 men in a small village church, though the text of Caesarius when one consults it tells us that *eight* soldiers, or rather knights, were killed—not eight thousand. But this is a detail. The really interesting point is the judgment which befell the old woman who betrayed them. She was, so Mr. Bland's translation informs us, "suffocated during Mass by a heat stroke." The Latin says *tempore messis nimio calore aeris suffocata est. Tempore messis* means of course "in the harvest season" and has nothing to do with Mass. One is reminded of the Anglican army chaplain when our troops were in France, who having been deputed to look after the mess arrangements of his division, ordered a

[1] See Introduction, Vol. I., p. xviii., and the preface to the autobiography of Guibert de Nogent.

[2] *Dialogue*, II. p. 27.

dozen kilos of cheese—" C'est pour la messe, vous savez," he added, his knowledge of the French tongue being limited. Upon which the grocer is said to have exclaimed : " Mon Dieu, quelle religion " ! The incident, however, is perhaps apocryphal. But in this case the words " during Mass " as a rendering of *tempore messis* stand printed for all to see on p. 27 of Mr. Bland's second volume.

Such lapses as the above may not be of any particular importance, but in the latter part of the work they swarm. When Caesarius discusses briefly the theology of the Blessed Sacrament, his translator renders the scholastic term *accidentia*, not as accidents, but as " unessentials " (II. 107). When a reference occurs to the " Sentences,"[1] this appears as " in the catechism " (II. 108). The monastic " scapular " figures as a " broad cape," which it certainly is not (II. 98). *Post tertiam*, which means " after the hour of terce," is interpreted as " three days later," in spite of the plain statement that the two Masses of which there is question were celebrated on the same morning (II. 134). *Sacerdotes legales i.e.*, the priests of the old law, becomes in the version before us " regular priests " (II. 168). Mr. Bland has apparently never heard of the *panes propositionis*, which the Douai Bible renders " loaves of proposition " (A. V. shewbread, R. V. presence-bread), and he makes nonsense of the passage by translating these words as " wafers that were to be used " ; while *erantque de simila mundissima* is converted into " and they were of the purest form," instead of " the finest flour " (II. 168). The whole point of the Old Testament reference has been missed, but the reader who has only the English before him will suspect nothing wrong. Again, when we are told (II. 246) of a monk " who gladly sung the high notes," if one looks up the Latin it is to find that, though he shirked manual labour, he

[1] *Liber Sententiarum*, the famous text-book of Peter Lombard, upon which both St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure wrote commentaries.

sang quite vigorously in choir; *alte cantabat* has nothing to do with the pitch of his voice. Again "in the time of King Philip, the Roman Emperor" (II. 274) proves to be *tempore Philippi regis romani*, or in other words, King of the Romans. Of a priest who had omitted certain suffrages for the dead which he was bound to say and who in consequence had died miserably, Caesarius remarks *nullam fecerat de eadem negligentia confessionem*, which in Mr. Bland's view means "with his usual carelessness he made no confession" (II. 331). Similarly a monk who, longed to quit this world *propter abbatem inordinatum, i.e.*, because his abbot led a disorderly life, is represented as objecting to him as a man "unordained" (II. 260). Nevertheless the story itself tells us that the same monk received Extreme Unction at this "unordained" abbot's hands,[1] which seems a little inconsistent. Of another monk we are told (II. 145) that "coming to the altar he made an intention in his prayer towards the holy cross," which on reference to the Latin proves to be "and coming to the altar of the Holy Cross, he set about his prayers."[2] In II. 129, it is stated that "three things are required in the priest that he may be able to consecrate; and these are ritual, words and intention." Of course Caesarius never said anything so foolish. What he wrote was *Ordo, verba, intentio. Ordo* means holy orders; no cleric can consecrate unless he be ordained. When a saintly monk, confined to bed, is said, by some strange telepathic faculty, to have been able to tell "who sang the responses and what lessons were read at evensong" (II. 149), the text naturally does not mention evensong, but speaks of *vigilias—i.e.*, the night office. Similarly, when we read of a priest who was celebrating Mass that, "when he came to the Lord's Prayer at which the uncovered chalice is generally placed upon the altar, he saw

[1] The Abbot almost always administered Extreme Unction, and the monk had practically no choice but to apply to him. But he could not, of course, have administered the sacrament if he had not been a priest.

[2] "Veniensque ad altare sanctae crucis orationi intendit."

in it human blood" (II. 122), this describes no strange peculiarity of the Cistercian rite, as the unsuspicious reader would be led to infer. All that is meant is that the chalice, having been uncovered and raised at the so-called "little elevation,"[1] is then set down again upon the altar. As for the statement (II. 132) about "the tray on which silver cups are wont to be carried by communicants" this is a wild guess at the meaning for which there is no sort of warrant in the text.[2] Still more unpardonable is the oversight, to use no harsher term, which has led Mr. Bland in at least two places (II. 235 and 315) to translate *psalterium*, which means of course the whole psalter of 150 psalms, as if it was the same thing as *psalmus*. The context alone would have shown that the mention of one or two psalms was ridiculous.

Another point, connected with ritual, which recurs again and again and upon which both translators have gone wrong, is the word *veniae*. *Veniae* were not prayers for pardon or mental acts, but postures of the body, deep inclinations which most often took the form of an absolute prostration face downwards. When Theodoric and Bernard, as we are told in Dist. I., ch. 21, were converted by the spectacle they witnessed beside the grave of a newly buried monk, what impressed them was not the prayers said, but the sight of the whole community falling on their faces. The story (Dist. VII., ch. 48) of our Lady teaching a young nun how she ought to perform her *venia*, should, one would think, have made the matter clear. But the translator makes the Blessed Virgin tell her "You ought to say to me every day the sequence *Ave Dei Genitrix*, and at every verse to pray for pardon."

[1] For the most part in the Middle Ages there was no separate pall, but the corporal was folded back to cover the chalice. If the chalice was lifted, it was necessary to uncover it first of all.

[2] *Fotrus* was not a tray but a sheath or case in which a silver cup was carried by people on a journey, or when going out to dine. It was commonly suspended from a toggle or knot which might be attached to the girdle. *Communicantibus* is a false reading which only occurs in one late MS. The early printed texts give *convivantibus* (!)

What she really instructed the sister to do was to make a fresh prostration at every clause. So again (II. 99) we have "prayers and tears" where the Latin gives *veniis et lacrimis* and (II. 154) "three Paters and the same number of prayers for pardon" (*cum totidem veniis*).[1] Equally misleading is a liturgical detail we find referred to in the account of the holy monk Christian of Hemmenrode (Ip. 476).

> At another time when, at the beginning of lauds, the psalm *Deus misereatur nostri* was being sung, he saw the right hand of God spread over the choir and giving the blessing to the convent. On account of this the concession was made to the lay-brethren that they should sing that psalm on festivals.

But the lay brethren did not sing psalms, neither does Caesarius say anything of the sort. What he wrote is *Ob quam causam concessum est fratribus conversis in minoribus festis illum psalmum peraudire, i.e.*, that on certain festivals the lay-brothers were allowed to hear that psalm sung through, on account of the blessing God was believed to impart at the singing of it. They would otherwise have been required to leave the church before it began.

Another observance which has proved a pitfall for the translator is the dedication of Saturday to our Lady. When we are told of "fasting on Fridays in reverence of the Sabbath" (I. 513), the ordinary reader will erroneously conclude that this has something to do with Sabbatarianism or Sunday observance; and similarly a *jejunium trium sabbatorum usque post solis occasum* does not mean, as it is said to do (I. 492), "a three weeks' fast till the set of sun," but the observance of such a fast on three separate Saturdays. The simple fact is that one at least of the translators proves himself to be entirely unacquainted with medieval thought, observances or nomenclature. Nothing for example is more common

[1] This misinterpretation recurs a great many times; notably, for example, in Vol. I., pp. 498, 499 and 500.

in chroniclers of the 12th and 13th centuries than to find allusion made to the "*ignis sacer*," or "St. Anthony's fire." It was a well-known disease often ravaging whole provinces, a gangrenous affection, akin to ergotism, which consumed the extremities as if they had been burnt.[1] When Caesarius, then, tells us of a priest *cuius manus sacer ignis devoravit*, he is thinking of something quite different from what is suggested by the translation (II. 163) "his hands were devoured by fire from on high."

This is a pretty long list of *corrigenda*, though it is limited to simpler cases in which a knowledge of the context is not required. It might, in truth, be almost indefinitely extended, and a large crop might be added of misprints and mispunctuations. But the irony of the situation lies in the fact that the work has appeared under the editorship of Dr. G. G. Coulton who spends endless time in challenging his opponents to a contest which will be "an object lesson in Roman Catholic and Protestant accuracy." Dr. Coulton announces that he is even now engaged in the preparation of a book to be called *Roman Catholic Truth up to Date* in which "the almost incredible blunders" of his numerous antagonists will be exposed and demolished. But, after all, *inimici hominis domestici ejus.* If Dr. Coulton devoted a little more of his energies to keeping his own house in order, he might be less unsuccessful in convincing the world of his entire rightness in castigating the faults of other people. In the meanwhile it is surely a pity that an otherwise satisfactory translation of so interesting a book as the *Dialogus* should be handicapped by a crowd of mistakes and absurdities which a little attention by a competent reviser could easily have eliminated.

HERBERT THURSTON.

[1] See Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, I., p. 54.

DANIEL O'CONNELL AND HIS LIEUTENANTS

BY DENIS GWYNN

NONE of O'Connell's numerous biographers has laid due stress upon the contribution made by O'Connell's young lieutenants to the swift and complete success of his Catholic Association. Nor have they pointed out that in the three principal agitations of his public career—the first attempt to rouse the Irish Catholics in 1812, the great effort of the Catholic Association, and the final agitation for Repeal, which was chiefly inspired by the Young Ireland party—there was this clear difference: that in the first and the last of the three O'Connell bore the whole burden himself and failed, whereas his triumph in 1829 was largely due to the extremely able and persistent exertions of the young men whom he had trained as his subordinates.

In the agitation which had its climax in the trial of Magee in 1813, O'Connell was himself a young barrister who had still to make his name known to the country at large as the leader of the Catholic Board. He was confident of success very largely because he believed that the Prince of Wales, who had become Regent in 1812, would carry out his promises, given when he was a younger man and still devotedly attached to his Catholic wife Mrs. Fitzherbert, that he would take the first opportunity of emancipating the Catholics. O'Connell succeeded then, by sheer energy and personal force, in galvanising the Catholic body as no one had done since the Catholic Convention of 1792. But his labours were frustrated by the conflict over the Veto proposals which wrecked Grattan's Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1813; and his herculean efforts to keep the agitation alive were defeated by the ability and energy of Robert Peel, who

had recently arrived in Dublin Castle as Irish Secretary, with his reputatiou to make by proving his own capacity to crush O'Connell's agitation.

Ten years passed before O'Connell saw the opportunity to try again, when he persuaded Richard Lalor Sheil to join him in founding the Catholic Association, and when Bishop Doyle, as the youngest of the Irish bishops, had lately been inspiring new courage and confidence in his own generation by his challenging controversies with the Protestant Archbishop Magee. Within those ten years the younger generation of Catholics had made great advances from the old state of serfdom and demoralisation. Many prosperous Irish families—like the parents of Sheil or of the future Cardinal Wiseman—had returned to Ireland from France or from Spain to escape the continental wars; and in Ireland they now sent their sons to Dublin University, after having had them educated at Stonyhurst or Ushaw or other schools recently transferred to England after expulsion from France. It was among that generation that O'Connell found the young allies who had been lacking when he made his first hopeful but unsuccessful efforts in 1812. He had himself been one of the first young Catholics to be called to the Bar since the Relief Act of 1792; and in the years since the Act of Union an always increasing number of young Catholic barristers had made their influence felt and had become active members of the Catholic Committees. Their aptitude and training for public life had created jealousies in the Committee even before 1808, when O'Connell had definitely ousted the veteran John Keogh from the Catholic leadership. But while Sheil had been little more than an under-graduate when he joined O'Connell in the agitation of 1812—to part company with him soon afterwards on the Veto question—there were literally scores of eager young Catholic barristers ready to lend their assistance when O'Connell raised the banner of the Catholic Association in 1823.

Only O'Connell's magnetic personality and the confidence which his name and his prestige as the greatest advocate of his time in Ireland inspired, could have encouraged them to incur the risks of legal reprisals which active membership of a new Catholic agitation must involve. But already the number of those who could afford to risk their professional advancement was much greater than it had been ten years before. In Waterford Thomas Wyse, as a small landowner who had married a niece of the great Napoleon, represented a new generation who held their heads much higher than Catholics had dared in the days of John Keogh. In Clare the O'Gorman Mahon, as a young graduate of Trinity with an absurdly exaggerated idea of the importance of Irish landlordism, was another young recruit who felt that his own mission in life was to demonstrate that Catholic landlords regarded with contempt the arrogance and prejudice against all Catholics that still characterised the Protestant Ascendancy. In Dublin there were brilliant young lawyers like Michael O'Loghlen, whom O'Connell had helped to remarkable success and who now ranked among the leading figures of the junior bar. And there was Richard Lalor Sheil, whose family had been rich already when they returned to Ireland from France at the end of the century and sent him to Stonyhurst and Trinity College, and who had himself built up a large practice at the bar, had married an heiress, and had made a considerable fortune by writing successful plays

Such were some of the younger men who rallied behind O'Connell as soon as he launched the Catholic Association in earnest, on its broad democratic basis, after the first year of tentative efforts to galvanise the Catholic aristocracy had revealed their reluctance to undertake any serious forward movement. Bishop Doyle's adhesion to the new Association brought the majority of the clergy to his support, and by the end of 1824 he had made enormous headway. Early in the following year he was

invited to London, together with Bishop Doyle, to give evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords which inquired into the state of Ireland; and his first contact there with the English Catholic leaders and with the more enterprising Whigs like Sir Francis Burdett had convinced him that the battle was already won. He made friends even with the Attorney-General, William Plunket, and they arrived at an understanding which resulted in O'Connell drafting the Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1825, which actually passed through the Commons and which he confidently expected to pass the House of Lords also. The enthusiasm with which he was greeted in London, especially by the Duke of Norfolk and Charles Butler and other English Catholic leaders who had hitherto regarded him with deep distrust, had raised his hopes so high that, when the Bill was rejected in the Lords after an emotional No Popery appeal by the Heir Presumptive to the Throne, he returned to Ireland in a state of deep despondency.

It is strange how little attention has been paid by his biographers to the intensely critical years between the collapse of O'Connell's Bill in 1825 and the crisis of the Clare election three years later. It was O'Connell who had conceived the extraordinarily bold plan of enrolling the entire peasantry in his Catholic Association, and it was his personality and prestige alone and his prodigious powers as a platform speaker that had aroused the country to fever pitch. Yet he was thrown into such a state of despondency by the defeat of his own Bill that the general election of 1826 found him quite unprepared, and so worn out with overwork and disappointments that he was unwilling even to contemplate any vigorous campaign in connection with it. It was Thomas Wyse alone who brought about the momentous decision to contest the election in Waterford against the Beresfords. O'Connell actually owned a small property in Waterford, and Wyse wrote to him late in 1825 asking him to take

steps to have himself registered as a voter before the next election. But O'Connell was so dispirited that he wrote saying that he could not afford the time to attend to the matter. Wyse, however, declined to be discouraged in his intentions. And although there was no question yet of any Catholic candidate standing for Parliament, Wyse believed that he could count upon a courageous young Protestant landlord, Mr. Villiers Stuart, to contest the seat on behalf of the Catholic Association. Villiers Stuart was actually on a holiday on the Continent when the general election came about, and a messenger had to be sent urgently to him in the Tyrol to invite him formally to stand. He accepted the invitation at once with great courage, and returned to face a contest in which his own agents told him that he had not the slightest chance of winning. The fact that O'Connell declined to take any part in the campaign was not encouraging. "O'Connell not only took no part," wrote Wyse's representative afterwards, "but discouraged our hope of rousing the Forty Shilling Freeholders until a few days before the election, when he became as enthusiastic as any one."

Had he ever imagined what extraordinary scenes the election would produce, the Catholic Emancipation Act might well have come several years earlier than it did. The truth was that O'Connell never dreamed that the forty shilling freeholders would revolt. He had regarded their votes as almost the personal property of their landlords; and in his own Emancipation Bill the previous year he had even consented to their disfranchisement in the belief that they would never dare to assert their political rights. But Wyse's bold stand and the public spirit of Villiers Stuart showed quickly what an extraordinary transformation had taken place. The forty shilling freeholders from all the outlying country marched in processions waving green branches to vote for the Catholic Association's candidate; and when

O'Connell himself arrived in Waterford on the eve of the nominations in answer to an urgent summons, he was met by such demonstrations of wild enthusiasm that he wrote in amazement to his wife to say that he "never could form a notion of the great effect of popular decalamation before yesterday."

The agitation which he had created had in fact gathered a momentum far greater even than he realised. He had not troubled even to register himself as a freeholder in the county, and when he appeared as Villiers Stuart's counsel on the day the nominations were handed in, he had no official status by which he could even address the meeting. His neglect gave rise—though no one guessed it at the time—to one of the most critical moments in the whole agitation. To obtain the right to make a speech he had to be nominated himself as a candidate. The nomination was actually challenged, though it was intended only as a matter of form, but the objection could not be sustained. It enabled O'Connell to deliver one of his most vigorous speeches, at the end of which he announced ironically that he would decline the nomination as he saw how unanimous the meeting was in favour of Villiers Stuart. If he had seen the possibilities for one moment, he might have made history by accepting the nomination in earnest. For the sequel, which returned Villiers Stuart with a decisive majority amid scenes of overwhelming revolt against the Beresfords in their own county, was the first startling revelation that the democracy was at last determined to assert its rights. Had O'Connell forseen the result of the Waterford election, or had he even made preparations to contest other seats with Catholic Association candidates, the result would have been a staggering defeat for the Government all over Ireland. As things were, there was only time for the Association to put forward candidates in a few other seats. They were victorous everywhere, but the chance of a sweeping victory had already been lost.

And not for two years was anyone to propose in earnest that O'Connell himself should accept nomination openly, as a Catholic candidate pledged not to take his seat until the obnoxious anti-Catholic oath had been repealed.

Even at the height of the election excitement, O'Connell was still suffering from such depression of spirits that he could only write intimate letters to his wife, telling her that he longed to be back at Darrynane, and that he was too dispirited to write her news, even though he already regarded Stuart's election as being secure. And even the triumph in Waterford did not revive his courage. He was worn out with the appalling overwork and fatigue of his enormous practice as a junior barrister, travelling from one place to another on circuit, often all through the night, to earn his great income with many little fees. But the agitation which he had launched had swept the country, and he had left the details of its organisation more and more to the younger men. It was Sheil more than any other who deputised for him as the principal "spellbinder" at the monster meetings, and who also devised many of the most effective forms of the new organisation. Without O'Connell the younger men could have done nothing, and even when they had organised great gatherings it was the prospect of hearing O'Connell speak, the magic of his name and the unbounded affection which he inspired, that kept the agitation in full swing. In the grand strategy of the campaign his master hand was everywhere apparent. It was he who had reconstituted the Catholic Association after its suppression in 1825 by merely calling it the "New Catholic Association," and announcing that it would conduct its activities for "the relief of distressed Catholics" and "for every purpose allowable by law." It was he who had seized upon the legal possibilities in the few loopholes that had been left, when all Catholic societies were declared illegal except those which existed for philanthropic purposes. And it was his quick legal

mind that had exploited to the utmost the new possibilities offered by the time limit of fourteen days allowed for any Catholic meeting. "Fourteen days' meetings" became thereafter the principal form of carrying on the agitation; and their wider scope encouraged whole districts to organise in concert, while local rivalry augmented the efforts of every district. It was O'Connell also who had originally conceived the plan of making the Catholic Association a national institution which would identify itself with every individual grievance. His arbitration courts, which within a few years established their authority with as swift and decisive a success as the Sinn Fein courts some years ago, were only one phase of this bold conception. O'Connell had visualised the Association as a machine which could be employed for the protection of every Catholic suffering from oppression, whether in relation to his landlord or to the law courts or to tithes, or any other matter. His genius had devised a means by which the Association would make an individual and direct appeal in every part of the country.

But the machinery of such a vast organisation required endless resourcefulness and attention in its application; and to Lalor Sheil particularly is due the credit for having perfected it. It was he who originated and carried out the ambitious scheme of extending the practice of annual petitions to include every parish in the country; which was developed by organising simultaneous meetings all over the country on the same day for the purpose of presenting petitions. He even appealed publicly through the Association to the hierarchy to devise some form of prayer which could be recited at these simultaneous meetings; and although they declined to identify themselves so publicly with the Association's defiance of the Government, they showed no reluctance in allowing the meetings to take place on every Sunday after Mass, when the Government was powerless to prevent the people from assembling. It was this ingenious scheme, which

accustomed the whole people to assembling simultaneously on an appointed day and hour, on the orders of the Catholic Association, that caused most grave alarm to Wellington and made him realise how powerless the Government was to check the agitation. At any moment the people might be convened on some other day than Sunday; and at any moment the order might be given for them to assemble with arms instead of coming unarmed. And it was Sheil also who in 1828, as a further argument to impress English public opinion with the urgent necessity of a settlement, proposed and carried out the plan of holding a census of all the Catholic population in order to demonstrate their numbers.

While the restless ingenuity of Sheil was thus devising schemes which gradually strengthened more and more decisively the authority and the power of the Catholic Association, it was not surprising that O'Connell himself—upon whose personal leadership alone depended the confidence of victory which restrained the people from violence—should have grown apprehensive at the prospect of widespread disorders, if Emancipation was to be refused much longer. For years he had dreaded the possibility of the Duke of Wellington becoming Prime Minister. "If so," he wrote in an anxious letter to the Knight of Kerry, "all the horror of actual massacre threaten us. That villain has neither heart nor head." And when his worst fears materialised, and he had been indescribably relieved to find that no active measures of coercion were applied, he insisted, against the wishes of many of the Association's leaders, that the decision to contest every Government seat should be withdrawn. When Wellington's Ministry made a conciliatory gesture to the Dissenters by repealing the Test Acts, O'Connell responded to the appeal of Lord John Russell to desist from further active opposition, as the outlook had grown so much more hopeful. Through 1827 the agitation simmered on, but the danger of an explosion grew always

greater. And when Wellington's Government played into the hands of the extremists again, so that the old challenge had to be renewed, O'Connell himself was opposed even to any contest in the by-election in Clare when Vesey Fitzgerald was appointed Minister for the Board of Trade after a reshuffle of the Government. The possibilities were fully discussed in the Association, and its secretary Purcell O'Gorman, who was himself a native of Clare, expressed his doubts as to the advisability of a contest. The unexpected triumph in Waterford two years earlier had been achieved under different conditions; for the Beresfords were notoriously opposed to every demand for Catholic rights. When Villiers Stuart had announced his candidature, they had issued an election address expressing such furious indignation at any challenge to their own hereditary privileges in the county, that the Catholics had been virtually driven to assert themselves in self-respect. But the Waterford election had resulted in fierce reprisals against the revolting tenant farmers, and there had been so many evictions that the Association had been obliged to organise a special collection for their relief, and the Order of Liberators had been founded for their protection. Sheil's fertile brain had, as usual, devised this new form of counter-attack, and the Order of Liberators had made headway all over the country. But the reprisals against the tenantry had been so severe that a repetition of the tenants' revolt, in view of the experience in Waterford, was now a much more serious undertaking.

The position in Clare was further complicated by the fact that Vesey Fitzgerald was not only a very popular young landlord, but was a staunch supporter of Catholic Emancipation. When even Purcell O'Gorman discouraged a contest and when the reports from Clare indicated that the clergy could not be counted upon to oppose Fitzgerald, it was little wonder that O'Connell himself hesitated to renew an adventure which he had never instigated. But

there were two young Clare landlords on the Committee of the Association, and it was they who insisted strongly that a contest must take place. Both were men of great eccentricity of character, and both were notoriously inclined to act on wild impulses. Tom Steele had become a picturesque figure by rushing off to Spain to take part in the war as a volunteer. And the O'Gorman Mahon, who had identified himself very prominently with the Association since he left Trinity College a few years before, was a young swashbuckling Catholic landlord who had already invented his own grandiloquent title, and who had already become famous as the most hot-headed young duellist of his generation. Both these men refused absolutely to submit to the counsels of prudence which discouraged a contest with Fitzgerald. They succeeded in carrying a resolution at once that five thousand pounds should be allocated from the Catholic Rent for the purpose. Once that decision had been taken, O'Gorman Mahon and Steele had gained their point. And before the meeting dispersed, they had departed upon their great mission to persuade O'Connell's friend, Major MacNamara, to stand as the Catholic Association's candidate.

MacNamara had been an intimate friend and ally of O'Connell's for many years, and had acted as his second in the duel with D'Esterre. He was a Protestant landlord in the county, and extremely popular locally because of his active co-operation with the Catholic Association. But O'Connell knew well that there was very little likelihood of his accepting the invitation to stand against Vesey Fitzgerald. Both Steele and O'Gorman Mahon also expected that MacNamara would in all probability decline to stand; and Steele explained afterwards that, when they left Dublin that Saturday afternoon and travelled all night to Limerick, they anticipated that they would at first have to "agitate for the principle alone, without having for a while any particular candidate." When they arrived in Limerick next morning they learned

at once that their anticipations were correct, and that MacNamara had formally declined to oppose Fitzgerald. To rouse the county without a candidate, when opposition to Fitzgerald as the sitting member involved so great risks to the forty shilling freeholders, was obviously a desperate undertaking; and the two young men consulted at once as to whether some one could not be found. Mahon urged Steele to become the candidate himself, as he, like MacNamara, was a Protestant landlord in the county with exceptionally strong claims upon the Catholic Association. But Steele had spent most of his own fortune upon his quixotic adventure in the Spanish wars, and he felt that in any case he could not accept the candidature without incurring the accusation of having turned his mission to Clare to his own advantage. As yet, no one had even thought of any Catholic candidate presenting himself.

Bishop Doyle had already published a letter to O'Connell, declaring his support of the decision to oppose Vesey Fitzgerald; and by Monday the demagogue Jack Lawless had joined them in Ennis to help on their campaign. The Ennis Fair was taking place, and Vesey Fitzgerald himself was already engaged in person in canvassing the electors, while the Protestant gentry had come down in a body to give him moral support. No opposition candidate was yet in the field; and when the landlords saw the theatrical-looking carriage hung with green branches, which had arrived quietly at the fair with Steele and Lawless and one of the local priests, they had little cause for apprehension. O'Gorman Mahon had already rushed back to Dublin to get a decision for some other candidate in place of Major MacNamara. But by evening the enthusiasm of the people had grown tumultuous, and it was plain already that whatever candidate the Catholic Association might nominate would have an overwhelming victory. A triumph had become so certain that Tom Steele announced magnificently to

the assembled crowds that "in case we could not get a Protestant gentleman of high character to oppose Mr. Fitzgerald, instead of getting a commonplace person, we should get a parish clerk or grave digger, give him a qualification out of the Catholic rent, and return him to parliament in derision of the influence of the Wellington administration."

Not for two days more did word come to Clare from Dublin that a candidate had been chosen, and that it was to be no other than Daniel O'Connell himself. The decision had not been taken without much hesitation, and it was the merest accident that anyone in the Association had even thought of putting forward a Catholic candidate. Perhaps the most paradoxical feature in the whole affair was the fact that the suggestion came first from a Protestant Alderman, the wine merchant, Sir David Roose, who had been High Sheriff of Dublin a few years before; and that it was even suggested privately by him to the Viceroy, Lord Anglesey—who received the suggestion with prompt sympathy and approval—before it had been conveyed to any member of the Catholic Association. Two years had elapsed since that dramatic moment in Waterford when O'Connell had actually been nominated for the constituency, to enable him to make a speech on behalf of his client, Villiers Stuart, and had withdrawn his name when the ruse had served its purpose. Yet the idea of nominating him, or any other Catholic, in earnest had never yet been considered. It was Sir David Roose, as a sympathiser with the Catholic movement who also had constant friendly relations with O'Connell as his wine merchant, who conceived the notion now. In the course of his business in the city during the morning he had been so pleased with the idea that he had mentioned it as a sporting suggestion to Lord Anglesey in Dublin Castle. Anglesey himself had by this time become converted to Catholic Emancipation; and in the privacy of friendly conversation he had told the genial Alderman that he thought it a capital idea.

Not until the following day did Roose happen to meet a friend of O'Connell's in Nassau Street, P. V. Fitzpatrick, and he took this first opportunity of conveying the suggestion to the proper quarters. Fitzpatrick as a boy used often to be taken by his father to see old John Keogh in his retirement at Mount Jerome, and he had heard Keogh say then, though it had since passed out of his mind, that the only means of winning Catholic Emancipation would be through securing the election of a Catholic member for Parliament who would refuse to take his seat on conscientious grounds. "John Bull is very stolid and bigoted," the veteran Catholic leader used to say. "He is however peculiarly jealous of the constitutional privileges of the subject, and if a man, Catholic though he be, shall be returned in due form to Parliament and then shall be refused the right to take his seat notwithstanding, John Bull will look very accurately to the nature of the impediment, and his attention being then directed for the first time with proper effect to a short clause in the oath of qualification, his constitutional feeling will cause him to assent to a modification of that oath in favour of the *Constituency*, whose chosen representative has been prevented from discharging his duty to them by the existence of the clause."

John Keogh in his old age had seemed to O'Connell, as the leader of the new generation which had taken charge of the Catholic movement, a vain and ineffective old man. And even if that prophetic utterance had been made at Mount Jerome to O'Connell himself, it would probably have left no impression upon him. But the words came rushing back to Fitzpatrick as he received this extraordinary intimation from a former Protestant High Sheriff of Dublin, who was now proposing seriously that O'Connell himself should make history by contesting the by-election in Clare. A vista of incalculable possibilities dawned upon him like a revelation; and raising his hat and murmuring "Great God, the Catholics are at

last emancipated ! " Fitzpatrick rushed from Nassau St. to O'Connell's house to tell him what Roose had said and to impress upon him the shrewd arguments of the dead leader whose mantle he had inherited. It is one of the most important facts in O'Connell's life that when Fitzpatrick presented the idea to him, even after he had heard that MacNamara would not stand for Clare and that the electors were clamouring for a candidate to be nominated, he declined to entertain the proposal. But Fitzpatrick was like a man inspired with a vision, and he would brook no refusal. He spread the suggestion broadcast through Dublin during the day and secured its insertion in the next issue of the *Advertiser*. And feeling that upon him lay a personal responsibility to carry out the injunctions of a dead leader at whose feet he had sat in his own boyhood, he undertook at once to override O'Connell's objections on the ground of expense by organising a special fund to enable him to contest the seat.

The response to Fitzpatrick's financial appeal was immediate. Within ten days he had raised £28,000. O'Connell had found it impossible to withstand the flood of appeals from his friends to contest the seat ; and coming straight from the Four Courts he had dictated his election address in the office of a Dublin newspaper. The story of the election need not be told again. By the time that O'Connell was free to leave his legal business in the Four Courts and to start, seated on the box seat of his carriage, on the long drive across Ireland to Ennis, the victory of the Catholic Association was already completely certain. His young lieutenants had all been on the scene before he arrived, after that triumphal journey which extended across the country. They had made every arrangement for billeting and feeding the great crowds that assembled in and around Ennis, to give the fullest spectacular success to his election. Sheil, Lawless, and Tom Steele were holding meetings all over the county, kindling enthusiasm to fever pitch. And O'Gorman Mahon, with his amazing

dress, wearing the big medals and the wide ribbon of the Order of Liberators, and with pistols at his belt, was parading the county announcing his intention to challenge any landlord who dared to interfere with the rights of the electors to vote according to their principles. He indeed was the chief local hero of the fight. But while it was the younger men who had forced on the contest and who had made a victory sure, in spite of O'Connell's earlier conviction that it could not be won, it was he alone who had created the agitation that gave scope to their high spirits and their idealism. And it was the tragedy of his last years that, when the Young Ireland party roused the country with their new programme and their fresh enthusiasm in 1842, he had grown impatient of any co-operation with younger men and regarded with distrust, and even after a time with positive dislike, the band of young idealists who were marshalling the national forces under his leadership of the Repeal agitation, just as Sheil and Wyse and Lawless and O'Gorman Mahon had marshalled them in the triumph of the Catholic Association.

DENIS GWYNN.

O'Connell's biographers have generally ignored the importance of the Waterford election in 1826, and have attributed to O'Connell himself the entire credit for the victory of the Clare election. Most of the facts can be found in Wyse's "History of the Catholic Association"; in Lalor Sheil's account of the Clare election; and in the first volume of Fitzpatrick's "Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell."

WHEAT-GROWING AND FLOUR-MILLING

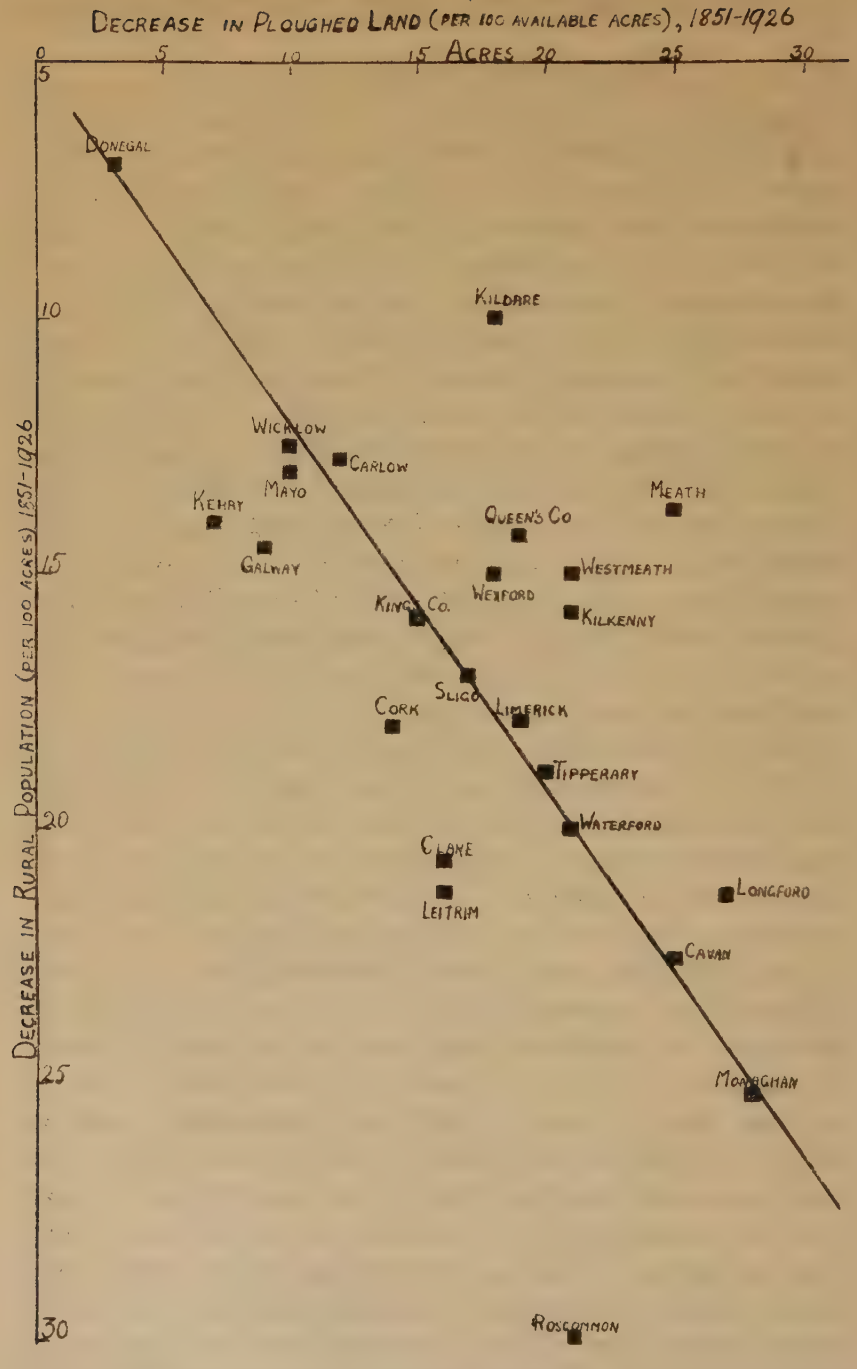
BY PROFESSOR ALFRED O'RAHILLY

ANY adequate treatment of the Reports issued by the Economic Committee[1] would involve a discussion of first principles. We should have to combat not merely the attitude of lordly indifference to wheat-growing and flour-milling, but the whole philosophy of indifferentism. The same signatures would be as readily appended to a report against tobacco-growing. Logically the same people should be against the ' artificial ' creation of small holdings or the protection of our woollen industry ; but in these and like cases the brutal exigencies of politics have overcome the squeamishness of the logicians. The same forces will, I trust, produce the same effect in the present case. But meanwhile, without attempting in this short article either to examine underlying principles or technical details, I propose to criticise some salient points of the Reports.

One of the most curious statements is that " the effect of decreased tillage on the density of rural population has been generally exaggerated." To prove this, long quotations are made from a publication of the Department of Statistics. Unfortunately these are rather loosely worded and of limited application ; moreover if the quotations were slightly extended they would have included the statement that " in view of her untilled fields and undeveloped industries and services the available statistics show no reason why this country cannot in time have a largely increased population with an improved standard of living."[2] In any case I hold that there is a clear positive correlation between the decrease in rural population and the decrease in ploughed land. This is shown in the accompanying figure, which also makes it clear that many other factors must be taken into account. It will be observed that the population

[1] *First and Second Interim Reports on Wheat-Growing and the Question of a Tariff on Flour.* (Stationery Office, 1929, 1/-).

[2] *Agricultural Statistics, 1847-1926,* p. lxv.



Dublin (population—decrease 69, tillage—decrease 22) has been omitted as obviously exceptional. For reasons of space, Louth (233, 36) had also to be omitted.

of some counties decreased in a greater ratio than the average indicated by the straight line; in every one of these counties the ratio of population to ploughed land was in 1851 already above the average, while in the counties whose population decreased less, this ratio was invariably below the average, that is, they were already relatively underpopulated—of course with the exception of Dublin. An examination of the individual circumstances of these latter counties shows clearly the particular historical factors which led to a relatively smaller decline of rural population. Beyond the indisputable fact that tillage carries a larger population, it is unwise to indulge in facile quantitative generalisations, without a knowledge of the nearness of population-density to the saturation point, the standard of living, the type of tillage, the size of the holdings, etc. All during the nineteenth century it has been true that the maximum density of rural population has been along the potato and poultry belt, characterised by small farms, and to a lesser extent in the medium-sized dairy farms of the south-west. What was the wheat-belt in the 'forties—roughly the district south and east of the Shannon up to Louth, excluding Kerry and Westmeath—contains land capable of carrying a much larger rural population without any decrease in the standard of living.

But no serious person pretends that tillage alone, without a concurrent industrial development, can stem the tide of emigration. Both tillage and industry must advance together, each providing a home market for the other. In my pamphlet on " Wheat, Flour and Tariffs " I pointed out the futility of ' listening to the Irish countryman's dying request to kill his urban brother so that the funeral may be more general.' Both are suffering from the same disease; our industrial as well as our agricultural policy has been shaped too exclusively towards import and export, ignoring the potential home market which British commercial policy does not wish to exist or develop. I also showed that if we compared this

country with Denmark on the basis of available agricultural land, we find that the *additional working* population which could and should be now existing in the Irish Free State amounts to 930,000, composed as follows :—

Agriculture	120,000
Industry and Handicraft . .	430,000
Commerce, Finance, Transport, etc.	210,000
Domestic	170,000

If these 930,000 workers—starved, emigrated or unborn—were with us to-day, if our economic system were adapted to fit them, our population would be 2,500,000 greater than it actually is. Instead of unemployment, work for a million more workers ! In the presence of such an appalling deficit, is it not high time for serious statesmen to cease their partisan sniping and to divest themselves of their British-fostered prejudices ? If the majority of the Economic Committee, in their eagerness to score a point, had not forgotten the example of Denmark, they might not have been so ready to hint that lack of tillage has not really much to do with rural depopulation. Remember that pasture forms 88 per cent. of our available land, while in Denmark it is only 39 per cent. ; with the result that relatively to us Denmark—in spite of the comparative infertility of her soil—produces more than three times as much and supports practically twice as many people.

The next attack on wheat-growing consists in the discharge of a mass of technical objections. I will not discuss these in detail, at least not in this article. During the past week I read these objections to three practical wheat-growers in the County Cork ; they individually rejected them all as in contradiction with their own experience. Here for example is the experience of a farmer who grows about 20 acres of wheat every year. He ploughs pasture-land in October and sows the wheat at the beginning of November ; that is he makes the wheat precede the root-crop, so that he need not sow grass with the wheat. His average yield is 25 cwt. per acre,

he got 32 cwt. when he sowed wheat in tillage ground (after mangolds or turnips) during the War, but last year was a bad season and gave only 19.5 cwt. As he dresses the seed with Corvusine or some similar preparation he has had little loss from depredation by birds. The wheaten straw, so far from being less valuable than oaten or barley straw, is worth 30*s.* per acre more; apart from its use for thatching, it makes a far better litter and manure (being more absorbent of liquid). Last year he obtained 2 cwt. more per acre from oats, but in spite of the abnormally bad year for his wheat he made more on it for he sold it at 10*s.* to 11*s.* per cwt., whereas oats fetched only 6*s.* per cwt. immediately after threshing. He maintained that wheat is easier to save than oats; the strong stalk prevents lodging; and it need be left only a week in the stook when oats require a fortnight.

In this brief enumeration I have omitted many practical details; I am not writing a treatise on agriculture. I am not aware that any of the distinguished gentlemen who signed the majority report ever grew a rood of wheat or knows more about the subject than an outsider like myself. All I maintain is that their *ipsi dixerunt* is neither final nor authoritative; their statements are at variance with those of several experts, instructors and farmers with whom I have at various times discussed the subject. To be frank, I have little doubt that these same gentlemen could with equal convincingness prove that tobacco could not be grown in Ireland. When they assert that "wheat cannot be grown with success on the wide range of soils which are capable of producing good crops of oats," I begin to wonder how our grandfathers ever grew wheat in the 'forties. What unkind old fellows they must have been, thus by anticipation disproving this nice little pet theory of our national advisers, to wit, that God Almighty, in His metereological and climatic wisdom, arranged that Europe from Norway to Sicily could grow wheat but Ireland never!

They used to say the same about Canada—until Red

Fife was discovered in 1882 and Marquis wheat in 1908.[1] Which reminds me that there is a lot of talk about trying to discover proper varieties for Ireland. One sometimes gets the impression that there are people in Dublin who think they are pioneers in a country hitherto inhabited by reindeer and nomads. To safeguard our common sense, it may be necessary to assert that there was Irish wheat quite a long time before there was a Department of Agriculture—and, let us hope, it will not predecease the latter. The quest is not for wheat but for a ' strong ' wheat suitable for bakers' flour in accordance with the current taste of the public (and the bakers). I would be the last to decry scientific research. But inasmuch as the said strong wheat (Yeoman) has already been discovered by an Englishman in England, the principal scientific problem seems to be now to secure supplies of the seed and to investigate possible improvements in management (sowing, manuring, rotation, threshing, saving, storage, credit, etc.). In any case this question of strong wheat is at present irrelevant. We are importing soft Pacific and German wheat. We could use our ordinary Irish wheat (Squarehead Master, Red Stettin, etc.) for shop flour, and in particular for one-way flour. And I have shown in my pamphlet (p. 16) that we could with advantage use as much as 25 per cent. of Irish wheat in our bakers' flour. Therefore this question of strong native wheat, while it is very important for the future, lies entirely outside the present issue.

The really important objection to encouraging wheat is that it will merely have the effect of ousting oats. Even if this were partially true, it would still be arguable that it would be more important for us to have our own supplies of human food and to lessen or abolish the importation of

[1] Talking about precariousness, here is what a Canadian Wheat Pool Statistician says: " Wheat growing on the Canadian prairies is notoriously a risky business. . . . . Thousands of farmers made preparations in August to harvest what they expected to be a 30 bushel per acre crop of No. 1 or No. 2 Northern wheat, which turned out to be a 20 bushel crop of No. 6 and feed."—*Milling*, 1 Dec., 1928, p. 598. He is alluding to the frost of 22 August 1928; and of course the Canadian farmers are equally unfortunate if their harvest is too good. But the Government has not advised the farmers against wheat-growing as precarious!

seven millions worth of wheat and wheat products. But inasmuch as most of our oats is grown for home consumption, not for export (the demand for which is likely to lessen in any case), it is very unlikely that oats will to any serious extent be superseded. In 1847 we had 671,448 acres of wheat instead of the 29,000 acres of 1926; but in 1847 there were also 1,544,148 acres of oats, while in 1926 we had only 647,000. Oats are now extensively grown in Donegal, Mayo, Galway, Cavan and Monaghan—counties which never grew much wheat. Without going to the extent of compelling grass lands to be broken up for wheat, as the Popes did long ago in the Campagna, it is surely possible, by a prudent and gradual encouragement of wheat, to extend the area under tillage. It is curious that the scruples which now spring up concerning wheat, do not seem to have been very vocal when there was question of heavily subsidising beet-root! In any case an extra crop of wheat could easily be inserted into the rotation in many farms: pasture—wheat—roots—*wheat*—oats and grass—hay—pasture. During the War the second crop of wheat (after roots) was grown, and by using extra top-dressing there was no deleterious effect on the oats following. Anyway the question remains, if eighty years ago we could grow wheat *and* oats, why now are we reduced to the dilemma: wheat *or* oats?

So much for the wheat, for the moment. I now turn to the Majority Report against a Flour Tariff. Not a single new idea or argument, not even an attempt to reply to the numerous criticisms, just the repetition of errors already exploded and a graceful whitewashing of the Tariff Commissioners—signed by the three Ministers who nominated them. Well, it won't work. This kind of thing may dupe the ignorant public, but the people in favour of protecting our milling industry are not so easily taken in. I myself was naturally interested in examining how far my own published arguments were answered. But the writers do not even pretend to refute me; they

exhibit what I already called pachydermatous indifferncee —like the little boy who bravely said after a whipping "It doesn't hurt!" My indictment stands unrefuted. So I will merely make a few desultory comments on the new performance. They—and also, I observe, the signatories of the Minority Report—quote the scale of transit charges given by the Tariff Commissioners; yet I proved (p. 8) that, in the case of Cork, these estimates were double the actual charges. They (and also the Minority) refer to wheat parcels as only "occasionally" available in England; whereas they are quoted daily in Liverpool and London. Allusion is made to the possibility of "the setting up of at least one mill here" by an English miller. They do not consider the possibility of forbidding this, just as the Minister for Agriculture forbad a German factory in Tipperary. In any case, is it not better to have an English mill supplying us with flour situated here rather than in Birkenhead?

In spite of my attack on the Brummagem idol of efficiency, the stock old phrases such as "smaller and less efficient mills" occur once more. All I can do now is to ask the efficiency-worshippers if they refer to port or country mills, if they wish to encourage or to get rid of Irish wheat, if they are speaking of national or profit-making efficiency, if they think it immoral to encourage small mills as well as small holdings. Meanwhile, more to get the taste of the Mersey out of my mouth than for any other reason, I will give myself the pleasure of quoting two measures adopted by Spain and Portugal[1]:—

> It is forbidden to open new flour mills of a producing capacity exceeding 1,000 kilograms [6.2 sacks] of milled flour per 24 hours. Nevertheless the authorisation to open mills of a milling power inferior to the capacity quoted shall still remain by special concession in each case and provided they are specially intended for rural consumption and for consumption by small villages lacking in means of communication. Existing mills may renew their machinery provided such renewal does not signify an increase in their milling capacity—(Spain).

[1] *International Year Book of Agricultural Legislation, 1926*, pp. 53, 49.

The installation of new cereal crushing factories shall not be authorised unless it is ascertained as the result of an industrial inquiry that there is an insufficient manufacturing capacity to answer the needs of consumption. The translocation of existing factories only will be allowed, in which case they must preserve their particular characteristics or else the amalgamation of these same factories with a view to industrial concentration ; a determined enterprise may not by these means increase its producing capacity as compared with its present capacity unless it has applied for the previous authorisation of the Agricultural Exchange.—(Portugal).

The Majority Report has become very mild about the price of bread : " the price of bread, which varies with the price of flour, would rise sooner or fall later than it would if no tariff were imposed." This practically amounts to a rejection of the contention of the master bakers that " *any* increase in the price of flour due to the proposed tariff would have to be added to the price of bread." But there is a discreet silence about the findings of the Prices Tribunal on the subject.[1] And by the way did not one of the signatories, the Minister for Industry and Commerce, declare in the Dáil that " the *only* impediment to the granting of the tariff " was the increase in the price of bread ? This impediment is now getting less ; with a further study of the relations between flour and bread prices in this country, it would vanish altogether. Assuming that the bakers will with impunity be allowed to raise the price of bread, the Report refers feelingly to the place of bread in the worker's family budget. This laudable sympathy would be more appreciated if they dealt with my thrice repeated challenge about the incidence of the tax on sugar.

The end of the Report[2] rejects the contention of the Minority that two invoices submitted to the Committee were evidence of dumping. The question is really a side-

[1] Also it must be remembered (as I pointed out in my pamphlet p. 24 note) that the bakers base their bread-price on the officially quoted flour-prices (I have this from a baker). But the bakers really buy at the " taking " price, which is from 2*s*. to 5*s*. below the official and supposedly economic price. This undisgorged and undisclosed profit is therefore available in case a flour-tariff is imposed.

[2] In connection with an argument about the price of offals I will quote Mr. James V. Rank : " The price of wheat offals is not fixed in relation to the cost of wheat but in relation to the cost of other feeding stuffs."—*Milling*, 27 April, 1929, p. 453.

issue. From the national point of view it is much the same to us whether our mills are wiped out by fair or unfair competition. In fact the distinction may become very fine; and it is quite allowable to hold, as I hold, that any foreign competition which injures our milling industry is unfair nationally and should be stopped. To my mind it is merely solemn foolery for Irish statesmen to start wrangling about the production costs of two particular consignments of foreign flour. (As they were at it, why did they not refer to the derating of English mills and the rebate on the transport of offals ?) However, as the matter seems to have some sentimental influence, I will deal briefly with it.[1] The English paper *Milling* refers to the incident as follows in its issue for 4 May 1929 :—

> Flour has been sold at uneconomic rates, but from all that we know of the prices actually accepted in England at the time of the transactions above referred to, it was most certainly not a case of disposing of surplus production at a price lower than that taken in the domestic market.

Now that is an enlightening comment. It contains two admissions: (1) Flour *has been* sold at uneconomic prices, (2) the price of the flour sold then in Ireland was not lower than the English price. But it is *not* asserted that this price was economic. We can now extend the first admission by turning, in the same issue of the same paper, to the District News from the East Midlands :—

> The more one thinks of the prospects of the milling industry, the more despondent one becomes. The action of some mills in offering *prices below cost* and in broadcasting offers by post, has compelled other mills to meet this competition or close down. It is utterly impossible even to give an approximate price as prevailing at the moment, as offers vary about 2*s.* 6*d.* per sack.

Turn now to the editorial of the same issue :—

> Millers will buy wheat which must show at least a small margin of profit [to the grain merchant] and turn it into flour which they will sell at a loss . . . The most amazing feature of the situation is that every miller is quite unable to understand how the trade endures its present position.

[1] In the first issue of my pamphlet I ignored it altogether; in the second issue (p. 44) I proved its existence out of the mouths of our competitors.

A letter to the editor in the same issue declares that

> At a recent important millers' meeting, the representative of one of the largest organisations stated that no miller could make a profit at the prices lately taken.[1]

No wonder that the editor declares (again in the same issue) that " it is highly necessary that a check should be put on this form of reckless trading in the commerce of flour; it has resolved itself into a sort of commercial anarchy." The editor of *Milling* is hardly surprised that some of us on this side of the Channel have proposed to put a forcible check on the anarchy.

Therefore I take it as proved—for where could we get a better proof than in the official organ of the English millers ?—that flour is being sold in England at uneconomic prices. Like the editor of *Milling*, I am at a loss to understand how the trade endures its present position, unless the English millers have other industrial undertakings or make money by speculation and options. But the fact of uneconomic selling is openly admitted and denounced. Hence I conclude—I would even like to add *a fortiori*—that English flour is being sold, not only in the East Midlands, but in Ireland at uneconomic prices. Whether this is or is not " dumping " is a dictionary dispute in which I am not interested.

It is hardly likely that Irish consumers will find satisfaction in the knowledge of this dumping. Apart from the fact that the benefit merely goes to swell the profits of the bakers, the dumping is bound ultimately to lead to a price-ring disguised under some euphonious name. If when that day comes, when the English millers have mopped up their own mess, we have no vigorous milling industry of our own, we are going to pay dearly for our folly. A foretaste of what is to come may be

[1] The following is an extract from the editorial comment of the *London Corn Circular* (13 May, 1929) on the speech of the chairman at the annual meeting of Spillers, Ltd. (this firm no longer publishes a balance sheet) : " What would interest the trade much more than the bare mention of the total profit on trading would be to learn the results of the two branches of the business separately, *i.e.*, the milling and the feeding-stuffs branches. It is well known that the milling industry as a whole did not have a very successful year during 1928 . . . . *Any losses sustained were much more likely to have been occasioned by sales of flour at less than cost price than by the ups and downs of the wheat market.*"

discovered in the "national scheme of co-ordination" announced in *The Coal Merchant and Shipper* (London).

> An agreement (we are told) has been arrived at between the colliery owners in England, Scotland and South Wales for the regulation of the coal trade with Ireland . . . . The colliery owners in the various areas will act in co-operation in the regulation of the prices at which coal will be supplied to Ireland, and under the scheme supplies will be made only to members of the Irish Importers' Association who, it is stated, deal with all but a small percentage of the coal imported by Ireland. A joint co-ordinating committee is to be appointed, consisting of representatives from the Irish Importers' Association and the various British associations of coal-owners. This committee is to act in a consultative or advisory capacity in regard to all matters affecting the Irish coal trade, including *inter alia* the raising or lowering of prices of coal either generally or in regard to any one or more of the districts, and joint action in the event of colliery owners or coal importers acting in a manner prejudicial to the objects contemplated under the scheme (4 May, 1929).

The Shannon Scheme may give us some relief against this plot of coalowners and importers. Only a tariff on foreign flour imposed now can save us from that 'national scheme of co-ordination' which sooner or later the English millers will adopt.

There is only one other matter in the Majority Report to which I will refer. This is the "suggestion that the importation into Saorstát Eireann of flour other than straight-run flour should be prohibited." "We shall submit at a later date a separate report dealing with this proposal." The report ought to prove interesting especially if read in conjunction with my already published criticism (p. 50). Meanwhile the comment of *Milling* (4 May 1929) is worth quoting: "This presumably is just to keep the ball rolling, since it is obvious it would be a very difficult matter to turn this suggestion into an effective law."

I now turn to the Minority Reports which advocate, in addition to the imposition of a tariff on imported flour, the establishment of a Wheat Control Board which will purchase and import foreign wheat, fix a price for

home-grown wheat and determine the percentage of such wheat to be used by the millers.[1] I have no objection in principle to this scheme. There is nothing revolutionary in it; under various designations such a Board already exists in Italy, France, Switzerland, Norway, Portugal.[2] But I consider the scheme rather elaborate at the present stage of our wheat-growing; moreover there is the practical objection that the scheme has at present little or no chance of being carried. It seems to me better to aim at what is immediately practicable and to prepare for future development by careful experimenting and inquiry. So far we have had very little practical and positive examination of the problem; there have been sweeping negations followed by a sweeping scheme. What we want at the start is a few essential measures, whose effects can be carefully supervised by a Wheat Committee of experts and farmers who can in the course of experience advise further measures, corrections and developments.

The first essential is a guaranteed home market for Irish wheat. Practical farmers like Senator Linehan have declared that this is all that is required.[3] Others, such as the members of the Economic Committee, assert that a minimum guaranteed price of 30*s.* per barrel (or 12*s.* per cwt.) is required. There is no doubt that the stabilisation of prices is one of the most urgent needs of agriculture. "Let prices be what they will," says Sir Daniel Hall, "the uncertainty is almost as bad as low prices." It is extremely doubtful whether the low price of wheat has been of any benefit to this country; it has caused the ruin of tillage, emigration, unemployment, increased taxation and rating; and it is equally doubtful

[1] I am inclined to agree with the criticism of the two Labour members, that the Board should not be a limited liability company; it could be an organ of the State with a special corporate personality to keep it free from political influence. I also think that if wheat sold to the mills is subsidised, a 'milling bonus' should, as in Switzerland, be paid to those who grow wheat for their own use.

[2] A similar Wheat Board for the purchase of foreign wheat and consequent stabilisation of price was advocated by the "Committee on Stabilisation of Agricultural Prices" in England (*Report*, 1925, pp. 72f.).

[3] I asserted this in my pamphlet (p. 12) as a result of my conversations with wheat-growers.

that it has meant cheap bread. The attempt to regulate the price of essential commodities such as wheat and bread would be a healthy reversion to medieval ideas; to a large extent it is already being done in France, Portugal, Switzerland, Norway. But the almost entire lack of a Catholic social outlook and the prevalence of materialist economic views would make it exceedingly difficult to start such a scheme here at present. Our economists do not object to railway-tickets and taxi-fares being standardised in price; but they would be up in arms against an assize of wheat or bread. Moreover such a scheme would require not only an educated public opinion but expert elaboration. Fixing the price of home-grown wheat would involve questions of financing, grading, storing and marketing. I do not believe for one moment that the questions are insuperable; they have been solved in small countries such as Norway and Switzerland.[1] But at present our farmers are depressed and apathetic, officialdom is hostile, vested profiteering interests are powerful, and the economic theories of Adam Smith are the prevailing fashion. I am therefore of opinion that it will be necessary to start by guaranteeing the market and to exert a beneficial influence on the price by prescribing the percentage of home-grown wheat to be used in our mills.

A Belgian Decree[2] emphasises "the wisdom of progressively utilising home cereals for milling purposes," and prescribes that from 27 September, 1926 the composition of mixtures of breadmaking cereals for milling must be: 15 p.c. home-grown or foreign rye, at least 20 p.c. home-grown wheat, at most 65 p.c. foreign wheat. Even the Conservative Prime Minister in England made the following announcement in his speech of 18 April, 1929: "During the six months after the harvest we believe that it is quite practicable to stipulate in Army and Air Force contracts that at least 25 per cent.

[1] The Swiss scheme explained in my pamphlet—which by the way was elaborated by the Catholic Minister of Finance, M. Musy—has since been carried by a referendum. [2] *International Year Book of Agricultural Legislation, 1926*, p. 16.

of the flour used in bread for these services shall be flour milled from home wheat. We intend to bring that into effect."[1] In England slightly less than 16 per cent. of the home-milled flour is milled from home-grown wheat; the corresponding figure for this country is slightly less than 5·5 per cent. We mill about 338,000 tons of wheat of which 18,000 are home-grown. If our annual import of 170,000 tons of flour were reduced to 100,000, then our mills would produce 70,000 extra tons of flour, that is, they would use 100,000 additional tons of wheat. In that case our present wheat production would supply slightly over 4 per cent. of the wheat milled here.

Suppose now that, as a result of a reduction of flour imports and an increase in wheat-growing, it was estimated that in the coming year suitable Irish wheat could supply 10 per cent. of the wheat milled here. If each miller were compelled to mill, say, 8 per cent. at least of Irish wheat, then the home market for Irish wheat would be tolerably secured. It would not matter to us whether the miller utilised his quota of Irish wheat entirely for shop flour or whether he used it up in all his flours within a month of the harvest. The Irish wheat would be bought, and inasmuch as the minimum guaranteed demand is not considerably below the supply, there is a fair prospect that the price received by the producer will not be too low. At least such an experiment would be worth trying, and even if it failed we should have a clearer analysis of the problem. This method—the fixing of the percentage of home-grown wheat in the total milled—seems to me to have advantages over a scheme in which

[1] In connection with Mr. Baldwin's proposal, there have been some interesting discussions among English millers. As the opinions expressed throw considerable light on the so-called efficiency of the big port mills and on the question of wheat-growing, the following summary may be quoted from the *London Corn Circular* of 13 May, 1929: "The impression one gets from the attitude of the big port millers is that it would not trouble some of them one jot if they never saw another bushel of English wheat in their mills. The farmers have partly put English wheat at a disadvantage by cultivating smaller acreages and in consequence selling in smaller quantities, while at the same time the big mills, by having increased their capacities, are less inclined to bother themselves with purchases of mere cotchells . . . . The small country millers will not agree, their point of view being that, given a fair chance to compete in the market, they can use all the English wheat which the farmers will sell them, just as used to be the case in the pre-war days. Thus it will be seen that among the millers themselves there is a distinct cleavage of opinion."

the percentage of Irish wheat is fixed for the mixture used for making all flour sold in the country. It is much simpler to administer, it is more gradual inasmuch as it allows the import of purely foreign flour on payment of a tariff, it enables the soft Irish wheat to be utilised exclusively or mainly for the manufacture of shop-flour. Ultimately, I hope, the percentage for all flour sold here will be prescribed; but we are as yet hardly ready for such a law, and we avoid many complications by not dealing with it now.

Without precluding future developments I therefore advocate (1) the fixing, in accordance with the available crop, of the quota of Irish wheat to be used by Irish millers, and (2) the imposition of a tariff of 3*s*. on every imported sack of flour. To give this scheme any chance of success, the following provisions would also be necessary:—

(1) Propaganda in favour of Irish wheat and the investigation of the scientific, social and economic problems connected therewith.

(2) The power to suspend the flour-tax or to issue licences for free importation of flour in non-milled districts such as Donegal, until milling facilities are provided, and also for Jacob's biscuit factory.

(3) The imposition of a heavy tax on imported bread, say 3*d*. per 4-lb. loaf, to be gradually applied if necessary.

(4) The prohibition of the export of wheat-offals; and the prohibition of their import except under licence when the needs of our agriculture require outside supplies.

(5) The registration of all Irish flour-mills and the prohibition of extension of existing mills or the erection of new mills except in so far as the needs of country districts, especially in wheat-growing areas, may require.

(6) Supervision of the price of bread and if necessary a drastic inquiry into the bakers' accounts.

ALFRED O'RAHILLY.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

X

THE DAY OF RECKONING

1. Deirfeadh cairdeasa comhairleamh · cúir mímheanma
San tocht a tlár · mo locht ar fár na fíneamhna.

2. Na maoir todhaigh · a-táid ag teacht 'nar fodháil-ne
ní luga-leam · ag dula i gceann na comhairme.

3. Nach deanna an rí · riamh orcha ir eadh do bhreachnuigeadh
a chaor charad · gaol dá lagad nach leanfuidear.

4. Gidh iomda díobh · na daoine ar ní fuarardar
fear lé bhragar · neamh ir talamh mar chuarardal.

5. Seachna a comuinn · ir cairdear cinidh neamhcairdigh
eo an mhara mhóir · cara ar teo dóibh dá ndearbhcairdibh.

6. Do chait an rí · go rug threirc ar ar dtréinfearaibh
dlúr re ar ndín-ne · i dtúr an dine déigeanaigh.

7. Foillreochaidh Criosd · fa chriadh ir cuid dar náimdeanar
dá thrát nó a trí · nach gan fát do bí i mbráigdeanar.

8. Mearraidtear leir · luit na gcló i gceann ar n-airdeirce
goin a dá ghlac · gér choil le mac na maigdine.

9. Ní léigfe an rí · fa rior ní riagail fáirneochar
uaidh dar n-aimrir · ní inr an aim-rin nach áirneomhchar.

10. D'adhmáil a locht · liaig na hanma do b'ionnraigthe
ní chéala cách · a gcéala i dtrát an tiomraigthe.

11. Má do chuaidh uaim · go hoic ir eadh do chualamar
do ní dam díoch · gach ní ar glan fríoch dá bhuaramar.

12. Teangtha ar mbioddadh · beid gar loch i ló an aigneara
maor na meide · don taobh eile go m'aimleas-ra.

13. Diúltfa Íosa · éigean dóib dul ar faidheachtfa
Trát an tabhaig · cáċ i n-aghaidh a n-aigeanta.

14. Ní fuige finn · fíoċ fe n-éag muna foghaim-ne
ó nóin a-nunn · an ghlóir do ċum fa ar gcomhair-ne.

15. Cóir ċneidhe an taoibh · don té lén hál ir osfa
a casa ar gcúl · gidh fala úr an fola-fa.

16. Madh óg mo ċoir · ní cár ionnladh na hógcoire
a ċóig ċroidhe · cóig fóidh toighe na trócoire.

17. Críoċ a n-abraim · m'fhoghnamh naċ cóir do ċomaoidhimh
ar ndualr-ne dhuibh · ar uairle cuid dhon ċomaoinibh.

18. Go ndearnair dam · a Dhé Athar ar féadhabhar
meirdhe mo mhodh · ní dleirdhe mogh do mhéadhughadh

19. D'éir a ċéile · go gcuirċear m'eire i n-éadruime
ceartaigh mo ċam · ná beantair crann don ċéadbuille.

20. Dá fgarta fiom · do fhaċadh dhé a dhaoi fíridhíona
gan tura im ċoigh · do b'ura a-moigh mo mhíghníomha.

21. M'fhár ót athair · adhbar do ċeilt mo ċeana-fa
ó Moire a meic · gá goire dheit mo dhala-fa.

22. Acht gidh ionann · ní foghnam duit mar dhearbhráthair
a Dhé na ndúl · cré dhún agus dhon dheaghmáthair.

23. A dtárnaidh díom · mo dhala gidh dí ar dearbhfaicfe
bráighe na mban · do b'áille dham a dheamhait-fe.

24. Gé tám 'na ċeann · noċa corrmhail naċ cneidfidhe
bean dála Dhé · a náma lé go leigfidhe.

25. Dheag an t-iongnadh · fe hoirdir n'Dhé mo dhealughadh
trí uair oile · do ċuaidh ó Moire ar mearughadh.

26. Bheith amhairc air · ir é iúl na n-orro fiaghalta
cor dom ċonair · dul an domhain [nó] diabhaċta.

27. An té naċ gabh · a ghairm gur na ré foċuidhibh
a mhac Muire · dar lat ir duine doċuirdh.

28. Toil ar n-aitheadh · munab í an ghláir do ghrádhaċadh
do feaċadh finn · naċ feaċadh finn dá fárraċadh.

29. Fuaṙar fa ṙíoṙ · ṙiaṁ ṡuṙ a-noiṙ mo neiṁċeaṙaḋ
Saḃam an ṡlan · ṡo nṡlanam ṙaí na ṙeiṁpeacaḋ.

30. Ó ṫaṙla ıo ḋuṙn · ḋuí uaḋ ċoṙṡaṙ cáṙ ṙoḋoilıṡ
oṙṙlám ṡaċ uılc · a ṫṙomḋám a ċuiṙp ċomoiḋiṡ.

31. Nıoṙ ċóiṙ ḋíomaṙ · ı nḋıaıḋ íṙlıṡ̇ṫe m'aṙaḋna
am bṙáṫaiṙ boċt · máṫaiṙ na n-olc an anuṁla.

32. Toıl na colla · ní cıall a ḟaḋ ṡuṙ aiṫneamaṙ
ṡuṙ ṁeall mıṙe · ḋo ḃa leam ıṙe ḋ'aiṫṁeallaḋ.

33. Fáṙ na meanman · ıṙ mıṙe ná an maıḋm ṙaḃaṙṫa
m'ḟıoċ ṡá aḋnaḋ · ṙuí ḟṙíoċ aḋḃaṙ a aḋanta.

34. Ḋom ċomṙáḋ ḃaoċ · ıṙ beaṡ [a] ḃṙıaṫṙa ḋıonṡṁála
ḋo locaḋ leam · an ḟocal buḋ ḟeaṙṙ ıonṙáḋa.

35. 'Naṙ ṡceapaċ féin · ḟıḋe ḋıaḃal a ḋuḃoiṡe
ṡuṙ ċṙíon an coṙp · bṙíoṡ na loċt noċa luṡoıḋe.

36. A ḋáil ḟa ċṙıaıḋ · cúiṙ uṁla ḋ'ḟıoṙ a ḟaıcṙeana
anaḋ ón uaıll · an ṫ-ulaḋ mo ċṙuaıll taıṙṡeaḋa.

37. Ḋo-ṡéaḃa a-ṙíṙ · ṙinn ṙóṡa aṙ ṙon a hanḟoṡa
ıṙ í a hanáiṙ · ṡan an ċlí ḋ'ḟaṡáil anóṙa.

38. Nıoṙ ḟaoṁ aṙ ḋtúṙ · ní toṙṫaċ cṙann 'na ċṙíontaṁan
anṁain ḋon olc · aṁlaıḋ ḋon ċoṙp aṙ ṡcṙíoċnaṡaḋ.

39. Ní ṙıṙṫe ḋuıt · ḋeacaiṙ an clú ḋo ċoimṙıuṡaḋ
maḋ maıṫ ḋo ṁéin · aċt an ṁaıṫ féin ḋá ḟoıllṙıuṡaḋ.

40. Teaċ na ṡlóiṙe · ḋo-ṡéaḃṫa ó Ḋıa aṙ ḋeoıṙ aiṫṙiṡe
túṙ an tiṡe · ḋo ṙún cṙíḋe ḋo caiṫṙíḋe.

41. Lóṙ ḋ'ḟéaṡaḋ aıṙ · ainḃıoṙ aṙ n-eaṡna bıṡi-ne
ṡaċ ḋainṡean ḋíoḃ · ainṡeal an ṙíoṡ 'ṙ a ṙıḋıṙe.

Ḋeiṙ.

Translation

1. " The end of friendship is the reckoning " ; it disheartens me that my faults in caring my vineyard abate not.

2. The stewards are approaching me ; I shrink (?) as I face the reckoning.

3. No favour however small—'tis so ordained—did God give His band of friends but it shall be accounted for.

4. Though many the man by whom Heaven and earth are got as reward, God has not won (all) men thereby.

5. For men to reject the love of the Salmon of the Ocean, their warmest friend, is to join the race of (His) foes.

6. In the beginning of the Last Generation the Lord made a mighty effort for our salvation, and overthrew our tyrants.

7. Christ will prove that His bondage neath the earth for two days or three had good cause—it is a result of our enmity.

8. Mary's Son will balance against our heavy sin-burden the nail-wounds and the piercing of His hands—though borne willingly.

9. The Lord will not then forget any act of our life—a rule, alas ! without exception.

10. No man shall hide his deeds on the Day of Gathering ; he should flee to the soul's leech to confess them.

11. Every good gift I have got—so I am taught—does me harm if I have misused it.

12. My foes' tongues will harm me on the Day of Dispute, and the Steward of the Scale on the other side will assail me.

13. On Tribute-Day Jesus will reject them ; they must set forth on a weary journey against which their nature rebels.

14. We shall not get the glory He made for us when Life's evening is over unless we get pardon 'ere death.

15. The debt for the heart-wound (of Christ) is easy to reject if one so wish—though this is a fresh sin.

16. If my sin be young it is easy to wash away ; His Five Hearts are the five roads to the house of mercy.

17. The sum of my words is that I must not boast of my merit ; the best of my gifts to Thee is only part of Thy gifts.

18. Thy doing Thy best for me, O Creator, makes my conduct the worse ; 'tis wrong to exalt a caitiff.

19. May my sin-burden be lightened gradually ; straighten my crookedness ; let not the tree be straightway felled.

20. If Thou leavest me and dwell not in my house, its firm roof will fall, and my sinning abroad will be more likely.

21. My creation by Thy Father is reason for repenting my sin ; how much closer, O Son, is my kinship with Thee through Mary.

22. Though the same clay, O Creator, be in me and Thy mother, I serve Thee not as (her) brother.

23. Though 'tis owing to my kinship that all (the love) she (Mary) got from me is most nearly due, it had been better for me to forget (other) women's charms.

24. Though I am God's foe, it is certain that His foe will be yielded to His handmaid.

25. My separation from God's Son is not strange when one thinks of that other time when He left (even) Mary distraught.

26. God's vision is the bourne of the Religious Orders; the world's end or loss of piety can alone deflect me from my way of life.

27. He who accepts not his calling to the Six Hosts, Thou, O Son of Mary, judgest him unworthy (?)

28. We are told 'tis no sin for us to outdo our fathers' fervour—unless it be mere love of glory (which urges us).

29. Till now, alas! I experienced my wicked resolve (?); may I form a good one (?) so as to cleanse the filth of old sins.

30. The mastery over sin is hard, since its many agents are in thy unescapable hand, O hostile body.

31. I am a poor friar; 'twere wrong to slacken my rein and wax proud; pride is mother of sins.

32. Foolish was my delay in seeing that love of my body cheated me; I could have cheated it.

33. My spirit rises quicker than spring-tide, my anger flaming 'ere it has cause.

34. In my foolish speech—few its sensible words!—I avoided the word which 'twere best to utter.

35. Till my body withered, my sins waned not in my plot of land; devil's work was its black produce.

36. To think of his burial should humble a man; let him shun pride; my tomb is my treasure-house.

37. The body will get hereafter excess of pleasure in reward for pain; its true honour is to get no honour.

38. In youth it wished not to shun sin; a tree, when it is an old stump, is barren, so too the withered body.

39. Strive that thy goodness be seen only if thy heart be good; seek not glory; 'tis hard to control.

40. Thou shalt get from God Heaven for sorrow-tears; that home should be striven for earnestly.

41. Sufficient guard against the ignorance of my petty wisdom is the strength of God's Angel and of His Knight.

Notes

[MSS.: T.C.D. H. 3. 19, p. 43 (T); R.I.A. *c.* ii. 2, p. 25 (C). C has only vv 1-14. The author's name not given].

2 *c* an ċ H. 4 *b* t. a ocu. C. 5 *c* *cf.* *Dán Dé* xii 4. 9 *c* uaip C. 12 *a* bioḋḃa H *b* loc lá C. 13 *c* a ċaḃ. H *d* a aiġ C. 14 *b* ṁe ar n-é. C. 16 *c* *cf.* *Aonghus Ó Dalaigh's Poems* xxiv. 17 *c* do ċ. H. 18 *d* moḋ H. 21 *d* ḋealṫa "natural bond" than "love" "favour"; *cf.* uses of ġaol. For other exx. *cf.* infra v. 23; Ir. Month. 1919, p. 343 v. 59, 1922, p. 30 v. 20 (mistranslated); *Dán Dé* xxvii. 34 (mistranslated), xxiii 28. 23 *a* ḋtaṁtaiġ H.; *b* ní H which does not give usual alliteration. *b* ḟaicfe *compar.* of foġur. 22*d* d. na d. H. 27 *b* "The Six Hosts" generally of human race (*cf.* *Dán Dé* Intr. xiv) but here apparently of Religious *d* ḋoċuiṁiḋ "unworthy of invitation"? 28 *c* ṁeascaim *cf.* *Dán Dé* xvi. 19 note. 30 *c* ċoṁuiḋċiġ H. 34 *b* ar H. 36 *c* a an u. H; *d* talaḋ H.; taiscṫeaḋa H. 37 *c* or ní an ḣanáir H. 41 *d* The poet's patrons, St. Michael and (?) St. George.

TWO IRISH MANUSCRIPTS

BY REV. PAUL WALSH, M.A.

THE subject of Irish scribal notes and colophons has received some attention within the past few years from the late Rev. Charles Plummer,[1] and from other writers, but it has not yet been submitted to the comprehensive treatment which it deserves. Perhaps the time is not ripe for a full collection of this quaint material from the various Irish manuscripts preserved in Dublin and elsewhere. Some years ago I printed a series of notes made by David O Duigenan in a miscellaneous volume now in the Royal Irish Academy. Dr. Gwynn's catalogue of manuscripts in Trinity College reproduced a large number of scribal entries, which are often of great importance for the dating of the texts dealt with, and for other purposes. But there is much of the same kind of matter still hidden away in our vellum and paper volumes, though it at times discloses facts of the highest interest. As illustrative of the value that may attach to what to the uninformed often may appear only trivial scribblings, an account here follows of two Dublin manuscripts of the "Life of Columcille" written in 1532, and apparently attributed in its opening paragraphs to Maghnus O Domhnaill, who became chieftain in 1537.

The aim of the compiler of this work was to bring together all traditions current in writing in his time concerning the patron saint of Cinel Conaill. Its style is much simpler than that of Keating or the annalists, but neither this quality nor the fact that it was concerned with the most popular of the native Irish saints seems to have recommended it to the later generations of scribes. From the days of Colgan in the seventeenth century to the time of Reeves there is hardly a mention of it in

[1] *On the Colophons and Marginalia of Irish Scribes.* Proceedings of the British Academy, 1926.

literature. Even still it is comparatively unknown. The work is bulky, and it has never been introduced to students by a series of edited selections. It is regrettable that a compilation of such interest remains almost out of reach for any but professional scholars.

We are indebted to the labours of Father Andrew O'Kelleher and the late Miss G. Schoepperle for a fine *editio princeps* of this Life of Columcille. It was published some years ago by the University of Illinois, the expenses of issue having been borne by the founders of the Irish Fellowship in that University.[1] The text followed is that of a vellum manuscript of the sixteenth century, now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Father O'Kelleher, who prepared the Irish section of the volume, worked from photographs of the manuscript. These, of course, were sufficiently well executed to provide an easily read text, but the circumstance that the editors worked in America seems to have prevented an examination of the codex itself, which might have yielded some data whereby the provenance and the history of the manuscript might have been approximately inferred or accurately determined. Charles O'Conor, in his catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Stowe library, has some remarks showing that the vellum (which the cataloguer examined at Stowe) has some scribblings on vacant places at the beginning or end, which, O'Curry[2] believed, point to its date as falling somewhere about the last decade of the sixteenth century. If O'Curry's inference is correct, there is in existence a copy which is much older than that from which the edition was prepared, and which at the furthest is only about a dozen years removed from the date of compilation, 1532.

The codex referred to is now in Dublin, in the library of the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay. It came to that resting-place from St. Isidore's, Rome, and ultimately from Louvain, whence it was brought to Rome

[1] See *Studies*, Dec., 1918, p. 677. [2] Hodges and Smith Catalogue 577.

when the Franciscan house in Louvain was suppressed in the early days of the French Revolution. It was found among Father John Colgan's collection when the latter's books were catalogued by Father Sherin, like Colgan, of the Franciscan Order. As is well known, Colgan included a lengthy epitome in Latin of the Life of Columcille, which it contains, in his *Trias Thaumaturga* published in 1647. It does not appear, however, that this was the particular copy which he followed or used, for he had besides a much more convenient volume in paper which bears abundant marks of his hand. Of the latter we shall have something to say later. The older manuscript is on vellum, and is splendidly bound in an old ornamental cover. The writing is beautifully legible throughout. The volume is marked " A. 8 " in the Franciscan collection.

The date of this codex is of importance not merely for the purity of the text which it presents, but also as giving an almost fixed point in the history of palaeography. An ordered study of Irish manuscript writing, tracing its development by means of accurately dated or nearly accurately dated books, has yet to be made. Our manuscript will be of some assistance to the writer of a monograph on that important subject. The scribe's colophon, which presents slight peculiarities of spelling not here interfered with, runs as follows :—

Misi Eoghan Carrach O Siaghail ro sgribh an beatha so C.c. do Niall óg mac Airt mic Cuinn mic Énri mic Eoghain Y Neill .i. cend sochair na heigsi & na healadna & saoi egnaide a ndeolus gacha haithne & dobeir vadha ar ṡcath a aidhchi certuired & bhis ag mac righ heigin ele re cois a mbhinn aige fein. Finit.

I am Eoghan Carrach[1] O Siadhail (O Shiel), who wrote this Life of Columcille for Niall Og, son of Art, son of Conn, son of Henry, son of Eoghan O Neill, that is, the head of profit to poetry and learning, and a wise sage in the understanding of every knowledge, and one who distributes from him for his honour's sake just as much as some other king's son has, along with what he has himself. Finit.

[1] He wrote the Kilbride Manuscript, No. 25, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and part of Laud Misc., 615, in the Bodleian, Oxford.

The O'Shiel name—here connected with literature—is still well known in north-western Ulster. Another family bearing the same name was represented in the country of Dealbhna Mhic Cochlain in the neighbourhood of Clonmacnoise. In this latter quarter, however, the O'Shiels were practitioners of medicine, not professors of the native learning.

The genealogy of Niall Og O Neill is correctly given in our scribe's note. Eoghan O Neill, at the head of it, was king of Tir Eoghain, and died in 1456. Henry, his son, died 1483. Conn, son of Henry, was chieftain from 1483 to 1493. Art, who was also styled Art Og, son of Conn, was inaugurated in 1514 and died in 1519, after whom the great Conn Bacach, his brother, was king of Tir Eoghain for forty years. Niall Og was, therefore, son of one chief and nephew of another; but he was never chief himself, and consequently had not the right to the title of "O Neill," though it is given to him in the poem which will be transcribed and translated later on. The State Papers show that, on the creation of the earldom of Tyrone, he claimed compensation, and an English document drawn up at Kilmainham on July 15, 1543, speaks of "Nelan Connelagh, *captain of his nation*" (Carew Calendar 192).

The following notices of Niall Og are abbreviated from the entries of the Four Masters referring to him :—

1511. Niall Og, son of Art, in pledge with Maghnus O Domhnaill.

1514. In this year he was released.

1526. O Cathain, that is, Gofraidh, son of Gofraidh, was killed at Bealach an Chamain by the son O Neill, that is, Niall Og, and Niall himself was imprisoned some time after that by (the then) O Neill, and remained in captivity for a long while.

1531. An English army invades Tir Eoghain at the instigation of Niall Og.

Assault of Baile Ui Dhonnghaile by Niall Og, and carrying away of O Donnghaile's foster son, the son of O Neill, that is, Sean Donnghaileach. (This last-mentioned is the redoubtable Sean who was slaughtered by the Scots in 1567).

1532. Spoils by Niall Og on Ruibilin Mac Domhnaill.
1536. Niall Og in a hosting with O Domhnaill against Lower Connacht.
1545. Niall Conallach O Neill, son of Art, son of Conn, died. (I think there is something wrong with the date here, which can be rectified by reference to the contemporary English papers. I believe the correct figure may be 1544, but this annal entry is close enough to be allowed to stand).

It is to be noted that the soubriquets "Og" and "Conallach" apply to the same person. The latter may have been given because of fosterage in Tir Chonaill. Anyhow, Niall's interest in the patron saint of that country is remarkable, and may be attributed to the same connexion. It will be seen from these notices that Niall had a stormy career enough, a fact which was due to his near claims to the chieftainship, which claims were substantiated afterwards by his son, Toirrdhealbhach Luineach, the rival of the great Earl of Tyrone.

Following the colophon at the end of our manuscript is a noteworthy poem without author's name, but doubtless the composition of the scribe. I print it here, running each couplet into one long line, with a space in the middle to mark the division between the short lines. The latter have each five syllables, with a monosyllabic end-word. There are the usual binding and end rimes, not necessarily of the strict type; for example, *stát* rimes with *tá*, *gnás* with *tráth*, and so forth. Alliteration is not obligatory, though it is present in nearly every line. Minor punctuation is omitted, but I add marks of lengths where these are necessary, and italicise letters not written in the manuscript :—

Or*áid* ríghdha réil d'Ó Néill nósm*har* nár
cuirthe*ar* le gach cléir can béim ar gach bárc.

Fer le cennc*har* clú rí can rún acht rán :
Pátraig Pól co púr Dia na ndhúl t*ar* cách

Coluim cend na gcliar biaidh le mian gach mná
dá sheóladh mar súd can béim súl co slán.

D'Ó Néill coimseach cáidh gabht*har* gr*a*in a ngádh
f*er* gan céim ar cúl láidir lúth a lámh.

Ó Niall ághm*har* óg nach gabh lógh co lá
ar cam*aír* a chaoi cluinter le mnaoi mna.

Dealbt*har* and gach duain an fer nár luaid lámh
riamh a nghaibh *nó* a ngleó co ndén leódh co lár.

Ar scáth scéithe an rígh is aibhs*ech* gním gnáth
téid gach cliar a gcéim fa Ó Néill co nágh.

Minic le n*er*t Néill dr*a*oi co stréip s go stát
seabhac saorglan suairc barr gá buaid atá.

A naims*ir* Í Néill beg le géig a gnás
tort*h*a tonn ní t*erc* iasg ag techt cach t*r*áth.

Bidh ith ann gach úir gach fidh fúibh ní fás
trom le craoibh a cnuas lór a luas co lár.

Do ched Dia na ndhúl biaidh a c*h*lú nis mó
mac nach millter méin beg a spéis a nór. // O //

Translation.

A royal, clear prayer for noble and worthy O Neill be set down by every cleric, without a fault, on every book.

A man by whom fame is earned, a king with none but honourable purpose: may Patrick and Paul (guide him) in purity, the God of the elements above all;

And Colum, head of clerics—it will be with the goodwill of every woman—guide him so, without a blemish, perfect.

Of O Neill, powerful and holy, there is dread in a fight, a man who never trod backwards, with strength and vigour in his hands.

From valiant Niall Og [1] etc.

[1] This might well change place with the preceding stanza. I do not fully understand it.

He is introduced into every poem : he who never moved a hand among weapons or in combat without cleaving (his enemy) to the ground.

Under shadow of the shield of the king, whose deed is always splendid, every poet rises in dignity about valorous O Neill.

Often by Niall's power is there a poet (lit. 'druid') with wealth[1] and state : a worthy, noble, joyous prince, his victory bears away the palm.

In O Neill's time the branch grudges not its accustomed yield, the fruits of the sea are plentiful, with fish coming every hour.

There is corn in every soil, every wood in your reign is rich, the branch carries a heavy harvest, quickly bending towards the ground.

By leave of the God of the elements his fame shall be greater, a man whose nature is unspoiled, little he cares about gold. A prayer.

We may now turn to the other end of the manuscript and look at its first pages. The following are the opening words of the Life :—

Tindscainter betha an abadh naomhtha & an uasalathar & primhfhaidh nieime & talman andso .i. Coluim Cilde mhic Feilim in tí do leig dhe ar son De gan cheim bad airde ana abdaine mhanach ndubh do bheith aige san eglais & cliara Erinn & Albun & iarthair dhomhain ag a thogha mar uachtaran orra fein & ni beith an dínite sin fein aige acht do chosnum luaidighechta oir nirbh ail leis an buaidhridh no in tribloid bhis a ndiaigh na ndinitedh roard do beith ac techt eitir se & a tratha no a urnaighthe no moladh Dé do bhid san do genum co gnathach & fos an ti ro leig righachd Erinn de mar in gcédna docum ar toghadh co minic e & budh dual do do beith aige o folaidacht & is follus cor tuig Coluim Cille an briathor ata sgribhtha a tecsa an tsoisceil amhail mheabhraidhes Grighoir a noiffig na gconfisoir *Non qui plus ceteris etc.*

[1] The normal spelling of *stréip* would be *stréibh*. It is identical with the word *straoi* or *stró* in Father Dinneen's Dictionary.

Particulars regarding the composition of the Life appear at the end of the Introduction, on page 2 of the manuscript. I shall quote these paragraphs in full, because they tell us all we know about the manner in which the work was put together, the place where it was compiled, and the date of its composition :—

Et bidh a fhis ac lucht leighti na bethad so co nndechaidh si a mbathad o chéin mhair & nach roibhe ar fagail di acht bloidh mhbec don lepar do decht Adhamhnan naomtha a Laidin & becan eile a nGhaidhilg ar na dhechtadh go rocruaidh dfiledaibh na nGaidel & fós an cuid eile a na scelaib a bfhad o cheli ar fud tsenleabar Erenn.

Et is doigh liomso gurub e dob adhbur do so anuair tancadar Danair & allmuridh do ghenum gabhaltus ar tus a nErinn do milledar & ro loiscedar airdchealla Erinn uile & ro milledar a scrine & a screptra & rucadar móran do thaisibh na naom leo da tirthaibh fein amail mheabraigid sean *leabair* oiris Erinn & co hairithe amail meabraiges an lepar danadh ainm Cogadh re Gaidelaibh ag Gallaibh & ro loiscetar & ro milledar airdcealla C.c. co sunradhach & is demin liom gurob i an uair sin do milledar & do loiscetar a libhair & do chuaid a mbathadh an betha acht an becan do frith annso sios re na scripadh di.

Bidh a fios ac lucht leighte na bethad so corab e Maghnus mac Aodha Duib mic Aodha Ruaid mic Nell Ghairbh mhic Toirdhealbaig an Fhina hI Domnaill do furail an cuid do bhi a Laidin don bhethaid si do cur a nGaidilg & ro furail an cuid do bi cruaidh di do cur a mbhuga innus co mbeth si solus sothuicsina do cach uile & ro timsaidh & ro thinoil an cuid do bi sprete ar fud tsenlebur Erenn di & ro dhecht as a bel féin í ar bhfaghbail tshaothair romoir uaithi & ar cait(h)im aimsire faide ria ga sduider cinnus do chuirfedh se gach enchuid di i na hinadh imchubaid fen amail ata script(h)a annso sis & ar ngabail báidhi & brathairsi re na ardnaom & re na brathair genelaig & re na patrun gradhach fein da roibhe roduchtrachtach.

A caislen Puirt na Tri Namad umorro ro dechtadh in betha so an tan ba slan da bliadain d*eg* ar .xx. & u.c. ar mhile bliadhan don Tiagherna.

In the current view regarding the composition of this work sight is altogether lost of the plain statement that the Life of Columcille was not the result of the labours of Maghnus O Domhnaill alone. Father John Colgan

attributed the work solely to him, and modern scholars have not hesitated to follow his lead. Now we have it here in the third of these paragraphs that the preparation for the compilation of the Life was not the work of Maghnus O Domhnaill at all, that it was carried out merely by his instructions. The task was not one for a young prince as warlike and as turbulent as any in those far-off days. The idea that he was sufficiently accomplished to translate St. Adamnan into Irish, or to interpret ancient Irish documents, for example, the celebrated *Amra*, is mistaken. It was a common thing for Irish noblemen to be unable to write their names, then and long afterwards, to say nothing of compiling a long biography. The preparation for its execution consisted of (1) translating St. Adamnan, (2) re-writing the ancient accounts of St. Columcille in simple Irish, and (3) gathering the scattered narratives of the saint from the old books of Ireland. Of the first and second of these items it is expressly said that O Domhnaill gave orders to have them carried out by others. Hence there were certainly one or more co-operators in the task. I think we may infer that the third item of labour fell to these assistants too. What then have we left ? Maghnus O Domhnaill " composed it out of his own mouth." The sentence sounds like a description of a modern novel-writer dictating to a stenographer or typist. We may be sure that it was not in this way the book got its permanent form. The co-operators, or the principal among them, doubtless wrote the Life, and perhaps read the finished product at intervals to Maghnus, and the latter may even have recited or read it as it was presented to him. I have no hesitation in saying that the real situation is reversed in this paragraph ; the nobleman is made to play the part of principal, while the translators and the delvers among ancient authorities remain without advertisement behind the scenes.

There are about half a dozen verse pieces transmitted to us which bear the name of Maghnus O Domhnaill.

It may be said that they, at least, vouch for some literary accomplishments on his part. It may be. But there is all the difference between producing a long and varied biography like the Life of Columcille and composing the brief poems in question. There is none of the latter which might not have been constructed by a man out for a morning ride or leading a foray. They are quite simple in language, and do not show any of that "excess of involution" which was the mark of the trained Irish literary craftsman. Perhaps it was the fact that Maghnus O Domhnaill amused himself with such literary trifles, coupled with the desire on his assistants' part to secure an unusually handsome reward, that prompted the attribution of almost the whole work to him by the real author or authors.

Let us now consider the second manuscript in the Franciscan collection, that which is marked "A. 23." It is in paper, and marginal marks and notes show that it was used very much while it was in Louvain. I take it that it was the working copy of Father John Colgan, being much more convenient to handle than the tightly-bound vellum. It has been damaged at the edges, and much of the text has been lost. This manuscript was written by one who spells his name "Brianus Mag Niallghus," that is, Brian Mac Nelis, in the year following the Flight of the Earls. The scribe's colophon at the end runs as follows :—

Conadh amlaidh sin do sgriobhusa betha mo phátrúin & mo phrímhearlaimh féin isin mbliadhain as buaidhiortha dá ttáinig re fada daimsir a nErinn & go hairidhi againni cuigeadh Uladh & go mórmhór a tTir Chonuill re bliadhain gusan am sa .i. go féil na croiche foghmair. Anno 1607 do thionnsgain an buaidhredh sin la feili na croiche & comhainm an laoí cédna bliadhain on am sin do criochnuighesa an obuir si Anno 1608 Decembris (*sic*) 14.

Gabh agam dá rér sin a leghthóir deighbhreth*aigh* gan aithfer do thabhairt orm um lochtt dá ndernus ann do thaoibh litri no dhermuid & a leith risin orthographia & risin dechtadh bíodh a bhuidhechus no a diomuidhechus ar an Giolla Riabach Mhór O

Chleirigh agár lenusa é ní hedh amháin de verbo ad verbum sed litir ar litir.

A bhraithri gradhacha guidhidh ar mo shon fen agus ar son gach duine dá ttug fabhor docum an tsaothair sin & go hairidhi ar anmain na mná úaisli do gheall damh ag tionsgnadh na bethadh sa nach edh amháin nach gcuirfedh fein buaidhredh orm acht cungnamh lem fá na díthcheall & ar chúig marg ni inneosuinn gurb í Rois Óg. Ni Dhomhnaill sin.

BRIANUS MAG NIALLGHUS MUISE NA ROICE.

We have now no means of recovering particulars of the scribe. The good lady who promised to bring him, not disturbance, but assistance, was Rois, cousin of Rudhraighe, Earl of Tyrconnell, whose departure from Lough Swilly on September 14, 1607, is recalled in the first part of the note.[1] The scribe copied from a manuscript written by Giolla Riabhach Mor O Cleirigh. This latter was the writer of the British Museum codex Harley 5280. It will be noted that the word *dechtadh* ("composition") occurs here again, where Giolla Riabhach is said to have composed his text in the sense of setting it down properly. The word primarily means "dictation." The letters "muise na roice" are somewhat puzzling. They occur at the bottom of the written page, and, I presume, these big characters were employed to fill out the vacant space. The scribes had generally an eye for the symmetry of the written page. The two last words of the paragraph preceding the signature are dragged out righthandwise to fill up the last line of the text. I regard the three words in question here as a cryptograph, a specimen of the sort of thing of which the Irish scribes were very fond, and which often defies modern solving ingenuity. If we substitute *a* for *u* in the first word, and read the *c* as *s* (like the Greek capital Sigma) in the last, we have *maise na roise* ("the fairness of the rose"), which may be taken as a complimentary playful allusion back-

[1] For the identification of Rois, who was sister of Niall Garbh O Domhnaill, see *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June, 1929.

wards to the name Rois Ni Dhomhnaill. It may be added that Rois was a common female name in the Northern aristocratic families in the sixteenth century.

On account of the high authority of the O Cleirigh family as penmen this copy is bound to offer an important text of the Life. With that, however, we have nothing to do here. But there are numerous notes scattered at the front and back of the manuscript which are of some interest. Many of them are *probationes pennae*. I transscribe and translate them here so far as they can be satisfactorily deciphered. The first page at the front, inside the cover, has suffered from rubbing, but on it I have made out the following :—

(*a*) Commortus annso re fear sgriobtha an leabair si .i. Bri*an Fionn*. Domnall r. Mac an Baird.

The letters in italics are barely traceable. The words mean : " Here is a competition with the man who wrote this book, that is, Brian Fionn : Domhnall Ruadh Mac an Bhaird." In olden times the Irish scribes were often jealous of one another's calligraphy, and Domhnall Ruadh here is prepared to stake something that his own hand is as good as that of Brian in the body of the book. And Domhnall's writing is of a dashing, flourishing style, particularly the signature, if that would recommend it.

(*b*) *Verse :*

Trí gártha is gnathach na dhunadh
dunadh ard a nibhther corm
gair na sded a ndail na ndeighfher
gair thed is gair geimeal ngorm.

Three roars usual in his castle,
the high one where they drink the ale,
the roar of the steeds in the nobles' meeting,
the noise of music-strings, and the cry of blue fetters.

This is a description of an Irish nobleman's residence. The reference to the cry of blue fetters is to the prisoners

in the dungeon. This stanza is incorporated in a piece published by Mr. Thomas O Rahilly in his *Measgra Danta.*

The following scribblings appear on the second page :—

(*c*) *Verse :*

Flaithemnus mor ar muirn mbig
betha shíor ar sheal ngairid
treigen De is dimbuaidh an dail
ar re dimbuain an domhnain.

To forego great Heaven for a little delight,
or Eternal Life for a space but brief,
or God for the short time of the poor world,
is a wretched affair.

(*d*) *Verse :*

Ge mholtar cach do chionn eal*aigh*
dfhagail o gach fhir agá mbia
ni he an ti re mbeir a bhuidhe
do bheir ní do duine acht Dia.

Though each be lauded for amassing wealth
from every man who has it to bestow,
it is not he to whom he offers the thanks for it
who gives a thing to man—but God.

(*e*) *Epigram :*

An tí bhíos na dhaoí
ni fedtur a chlaoí.

If one is a natural boor, you cannot make him any better.

(*f*) *Prayer :*

Iarruim ar in Tigerna cumhacht*ach* & ar Cholum Chille bhenduighthe go rabh am cuinne ann sa rítheagh a bfuil siumh & go dtuillem o chroidhe glan dhol ann. Amen a Dia. Amen a Dia.

I beseech the Almighty Lord and blessed Columcille that they may await me in the Paradise where he is, and that we with pure heart may merit to go there. Amen, O God. Amen, O God.

(*g*) *Imprecation :*

Crosaim féin ar coimsighth nimhe & ar Coluim Cille maith ar bioth do dhenomh dot corp no dot anmain gibe tu.

I prohibit (avert) the Almighty of Heaven and Columcille from doing any good at all to thy body or thy soul, whoever thou art.

(*h*) *Probationes pennae :*

(1) Cinnas sin a phinn. How is that, O pen ?

(2) As maith an peann ler sgriobhadh an began sa acht —— Good is the pen wherewith this little is written, but——

(3) Ar nathchuinge chugad—— Our request to thee——

(4) Gibe thu as olc do labruis. Whoever thou art, thou hast spoken ill.

(5) Sinnter linn do locht an fhogh(l)uim. Let us play (or, we play) for the learners.

(6) An fuil gles ort a phinn. Are you in good order, O pen ?

(7) Tabhair so do Conaire O Cleirigh. Give this to Conaire O Cleirigh.

(*i*) *Prayer :*

Iarraim ar Dia & ar Coluim Cille go ndioghna se trocaire orom.

I beseech God and Columcille that He may have mercy on me.

The third page bears a date " 9 Mairtius 1610." At the end there are five entries, the first of which consists of a single name " Mauritius Bardeus." Our manuscript, apparently, was in the hands of the Franciscans two years after it was written. I conclude that the scribe Brian Mac Nelis was a member of the same Order. This inference explains his address to his " dear brethren " in the colophon printed above.

(*j*) *Memoranda :*

(1) An bliaghuin se daois an Tigerna do gabad Inis Ceithlion 1593.

This year of the Lord Inniskillen was captured, 1593.

(2) 1624 Niall Garb & Neactai(n).

This unfinished entry was to have reference to Niall Garbh O Domhnaill and his son Neachtain, both of whom were at the date given prisoners in the Tower of London.

(*k*) *Jottings :*

(1) Ag sin duit a cara ionmuin. There is that for you, O dear friend.

(2) Truagh an dáil ón truagh an dáil
mo turus don tír a ttam
maraén san tí rom car
méraidh a mairg damh rem (la).[1]

A sad event my journey to the land we are in, I and the one who loved me—the pity of it shall remain with me forever.

In point of date the two manuscripts here described are separated by a period of more than sixty years. But it is possible to bring them into closer relation under another aspect. No mention by name is made in the older volume of the wife of Niall Og. She was an O Donnell. She was Rois, daughter of Aodh Dubh, and therefore sister to the reputed author, Maghnus. We have evidence of her interest in hagiography, for Michael O Clery transcribed from a book that was made for her by one Sighraidh O Maelchonaire. The younger manuscript too, as we have seen, was written for another Rois of the same family. The two books are thus linked by association with these ladies of the O Donnells, a family which, like many another in Ulster, lent its measure of encouragement to Irish men of learning in bygone ages.

PAUL WALSH.

[1] This word, or whatever word we are to supply, was simply not written. There is no damage or tearing at the place.

THEORIES OF CHURCH AND STATE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY REV. DENIS O'KEEFFE, M.A.

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A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century. By J. W. Allen, M.A. (Methuen. 1928. 21*s.* net.).

La Doctrine politique de Saint Thomas d'Aquin. Par Bernard Roland-Gosselin. (Marcel Rivière. 1928. 8 fr.).

THE time has not yet come when the theological controversies of the sixteenth century can be considered with detachment. The tragedy which broke up the medieval Christian system has not worked itself out to a final issue; many of the problems then raised are still living, and, in their judgments of value, men inevitably will differ. But in questions of historical fact, and particularly in the history of opinion or theory, fairness of mind, however difficult, should always be within reach of the earnest inquirer. The political theories of the sixteenth century are closely linked with the religious controversies of the time. They tend to arouse similar emotions. And so it has come about that, taught by bitter experience, one takes up "*A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*" with some misgiving.

Professor Allen's book, let me say at once, is a work of wide and accurate scholarship. It represents a vast amount of reading and research, particularly in the important pamphlet literature of the period. The parts dealing with English political opinions are, as one should anticipate, particularly good. If Professor Allen is at once candid and humble about his knowledge of the literature "of the period of the civil wars in France," this is merely because his standards are high. There is an admirable account of Bodin and an original and

suggestive treatment of the political theories of Machiavelli. The supreme merit of the book, however, is to be found not in any particular conclusions, but in its general spirit. Professor Allen is always interested in the truth of the matter. The springs of Dr. Neville Figgis's learning were poisoned by prejudice. Professor Allen's prejudices do not appear. He tells us in his Introduction :—

> If I have written this book as I should have written it, no one will be able to say what my own opinion is on any of the questions discussed or whether I have one. I have only the right to point out incoherencies and make comparisons.

It has been said that with Machiavelli the modern world begins. It may be so, and yet it is not easy to point out what was definitely original in his attitude. He had, if you will, a genius for exact observation ; he got down to the motives which, behind all their fair pretences, move statesmen and men of action. "We are much beholden," says Bacon, "to Machiavelli and others that wrote what men do, and not what they ought to do." There is nothing sinister, however, in exact observation. And, as a matter of history, Machiavelli has generally been understood to mean much more than this. If he meant that moral ideals in the traditional Christian sense are and ought to be subservient to political ends, his philosophy is of immense significance. It is in no way novel. Throughout the Middle Ages a theory of this type had been gradually emerging, and had at length found definite expression in the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun. The philosophy of this work, of which Mr. Previté-Orton has just given us a critical edition,[1] is as definitely antichristian as anything in Machiavelli.

Now it is quite true, as Professor Allen points out, that Machiavelli's theories had little direct influence on any of the reformers. If they had been acquainted with

[1] The *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua. Edited by C. W. Previté-Orton. (Cambridge University Press. 1928. 35s. net).

them they probably would have regarded them as monstrous. Yet it is equally true that the results that follow logically from the doctrine of royal supremacy have never been better expressed than in some of the formulae of Machiavelli's *Prince*. Machiavelli's philosophy may be very unlike that of the Tudors, if they had any, but in this respect he had caught the spirit of the time.

In political theory the sixteenth century inherited from the Middle Ages two streams of tradition. The Catholic tradition in its main principles was already fixed and had found its most characteristic expression in the theories of St. Thomas Aquinas. These theories, or rather this Catholic tradition, Cardinal Bellarmine and other Catholic writers proposed to apply to the problems of the sixteenth century. It is precisely the strength of their position that they are expressing an old tradition, not inventing a theory to meet the exigencies of the moment. And yet their theory in a sense is new. For while little that they say is novel, the points of emphasis in their political philosophy are different from those of the medieval theologians. They did not originate the theory of the " indirect " power of the Papacy in secular affairs, nor is the terminology itself new. And yet, so delicate a matter is emphasis, their manner of stating the theory gave offence to Pope Sixtus V. Bellarmine's view that the State is founded on the consent of the citizens is a commonplace in medieval speculation, and was, no doubt, derived from Aristotle and the *Corpus Juris*. But in the environment of the sixteenth century it had a new meaning. With St. Thomas, in whom the theory may be found, it was not designed to furnish a lever against the power of arbitrary princes, nor did it include in any sense the implication that government by consent of the people is the only form of government morally or politically justifiable. In the *Corpus Juris* it had become a meaningless commonplace and was combined with the contradictory view that the Emperor was the source of

law. With the writers of the sixteenth century it got a modern significance and turned out to be highly unpalatable to the arbitrary rulers of the time.

The contrary stream of tradition came from the anti-papalist writers, and in particular from Marsilius and Occam. The reformers, when they are acquainted with earlier literature, are in the line of this second tradition. Their assumptions, as Professor Allen points out, are not new, but are precisely the same as those of the heretics of the Middle Ages.

The political problems which interested the sixteenth century are not the problems agitated by Machiavelli in the early or by Bodin in the later years of that century. "The political thought of a period," Professor Allen tells us, "is to be found rather in the writings of obscure or anonymous persons than in the work of writers whose real distinction and originality make them untypical." Now what were the political problems of the sixteenth century? They may, I think, be reduced to three: the problem of the relation of the State to the Church, the problem of the relation of subject to ruler, and the problem of toleration. These problems are not, of course, unrelated. The first is fundamental, and on the answer given to it the answers to the other two will be found, in practice though not necessarily in theory, to depend. It is this first problem that I propose to discuss in this paper.

The problem of the relation of Church and State was raised in an acute form by Luther's rejection of all the claims of the Papacy as early as 1520. "He asserted broadly that no coercive power whatever belonged properly to clergy, bishops or Pope, that clergy were subjects of the secular magistrate like other people and that the whole body of canon law was without validity." (p. 5). While similar assertions had been made already in the *Defensor Pacis*, their assertion now was destined to be of much deeper import. Luther and the earlier reformers had of course no precise sense of the results that followed

from this negative position. Luther himself cannot be regarded as in any sense a political thinker. It is impossible to discover in his writings any coherent view. The civil magistrate, he urged, was not subject to Papal control. But was he in any sense subject to the Church ? Clearly he was so subject, since the idea of a State independent of any form of religion would have seemed in the early sixteenth century equivalent to a denial of God. But what and where is this Church which pronounces infallibly on matters of religion if it is not the Church of Rome ? In the first days of the rejection of Rome the question was difficult to answer, because there was no organised Protestant community ; in later times it became difficult, because there were too many Protestant Churches.

The same assumption lies at the basis of the more logical and coherent theory of Calvin. For him the State is absolutely subordinate to the Church, or rather, in the ideal community, it ceases to exist because the Church has absorbed it. His theory has a superficial, although only a superficial, resemblance to the medieval doctrine. Professor Allen writes. (p. 70) :—

> According to Calvin, wherever the Word of God is purely preached and the sacraments duly administered, there is a true Church. . . . But who is to say when the Word is purely preached and the sacraments duly ministered ? For it to be possible to say with certainty, either there must exist somewhere on earth an infallible authority, or the meaning and implications of the Scriptures must be, if not exactly easy to ascertain, at least strictly demonstrable. But Calvin denied the existence of any infallible authority. There remained only the alternative. It had to be asserted that no sufficiently equipped, rational and earnest inquirer can give to the Scriptures any interpretation differing in any important respect from that given in the *Institute*. Disagreement with, at least, the main conclusions of Calvin must be held to involve either ignorance or some kind of perversity or dishonesty. Absurd as the assertion might be, it had to be made. For, if the Scriptures be ambiguous, if quite different views may be based on them by honest and competent students, the whole ideal structure of the Calvinistic theocracy collapses.

When we come to the doctrine of " royal supremacy " we are upon new ground. This theory does not follow in sheer logic from a denial of papal authority. It is the result of the position of affairs in England when that denial was made. The claim that spiritual authority resides in the secular ruler was not entirely new. Such a claim had been made in the controversy between Lewis of Bavaria and Pope John XXII in the fourteenth century. The idea, however, is so obviously opposed to the whole spirit of Christianity that it scarcely stood in need of refutation, and, although modern scholarship has given prominence to the question, it stirred the surface of theological speculation very slightly. So little plausibility has the theory that, even when royal supremacy was in England an established system, a definite statement of the doctrine on the theological side cannot easily be found. The lawyers, however, are more definite than the theologians, and it is from them that we get the most precise statements of the implications of royal supremacy.

The literature of the subject is complicated, but Professor Allen gives us an account of the matter at once lucid and comprehensive. I regret that it is not possible to follow his discussion here. I can merely refer to a few points of interest. Apart from the assertion of the supremacy of the Crown in all ecclesiastical causes and over all ecclesiastical persons, Henry VIII broke as little as possible with Catholic tradition. This was an essential part of his tactics. The Church is needed and must be recognised as existing in some sense.

The vital question is : how should the Church be governed ? Here, as Professor Allen shows, two conclusions had to be established : first that God never intended any centralised government in the Universal Church, and, secondly, that what God did intend was that the government of the Church should be in the hands of the ultimate civil authority. The method of proof consisted in bald assertion. And the further question remains : how much

is involved in royal supremacy, how far does it extend, and what, if any, are its limitations? It was on this point that all the controversy under Elizabeth really turned. Of the writers of Henry VIII's day, Professor Allen finds the clearest answer to the problem in the lawyer Christopher St. Germain. St. Germain's answer can be given in a single sentence. "In all cases of theological variance or dispute as to the meaning of the Word of God, it is for the civil sovereign to decide the question authoritatively." On the theory of royal supremacy, the decisions of Parliament on religious questions had to be taken as though they were infallible.

That these points were obvious to Catholics at the time is admirably brought out by Professor Allen in his chapter on "The Catholic Protest." In some well-selected quotations he shows how Sir Thomas More had got to the root of the matter. I have room here only for one.

> "Admit there were, sir," said Sir Richard Rich, the King's Solicitor, to Sir Thomas More, "an Act of Parliament that all the realm should take me for the King, would not you, Master More, take me for the King?" "Yes, sir," quoth Sir Thomas More, "that would I." "I put the case further," quoth Master Rich, "that there were an Act of Parliament that all the realm should take me for the Pope; would then not you, Master More, take me for the Pope?" "For answer," quoth Sir Thomas More, "to your first case, the Parliament may well meddle with the state of temporal princes: but to make answer to your second case, I will put you this case. Suppose the Parliament would make a law that God should not be God, would then you, Master Rich, say God were not God?" (pp. 200-1).

The whole philosophy of sovereignty is implicit in this dialogue. But that philosophy, curiously enough, received its development, in the sixteenth century, in France rather than in England. It would seem a small step from the doctrine of royal supremacy to the theory of "the divine right of kings." But, small as the step was, it was not at once definitely taken. No doubt this was due to the traditional strength of the legal theory that

England was a constitutional monarchy governed by the King in Parliament. The " Estates " in France, whatever the legal theory, had not won for themselves a position of such definite strength. The theory of the divine right of kings has, as Professor Allen shows, been seldom understood. It is, in fact, somewhat complicated in itself, and suffers from the additional obscurities of its defenders. It never received quite adequate exposition. The circumstances of the civil wars in France tended to make some such theory inevitable. Only in a central sovereign power, absolute and sacrosanct, could a cure be found for the manifold ills of the Huguenot wars. And so we find the theory emerging, at first in a vague and tentative form, later, as in Barclay, quite definitely, but never with logical exactness.

All kinds of influences went to the making of this theory. Fundamental is the view that all authority comes from God. But this will hold of a republic or an aristocracy as clearly as of a monarchy. More vital is the principle that the people cannot delegate or confer political authority; they have not got it, to begin with, either separately or together. Political authority must come from God directly to the depository thereof. It would need to be shown next that the holder of political power is necessarily a monarch. This would be a difficult matter had there existed a developed historical sense. Still something could be said to make the theory plausible. Monarchy, it was suggested, by Barclay and others, is the natural type of political association, developing out of the original patriarchal system by an inevitable process. It can be argued too on very respectable authority that it is the best type of political organisation. And in addition, in the sixteenth century, it commonly prevailed. Finally, the individual monarch seemed to be directly selected by providence, apparently by killing off other claimants, and providence bestowed upon him an authority inalienable and irrevocable save by God himself.

The idea, in the sixteenth century, was plausible enough. It was already implicit, like so much else, in the anti-papalist theories of the Middle Ages. When Dante, in his *Monarchia*, develops the theory of the providential mission of the Roman people, and consequentially of the Roman emperor, "*regere gentes*," he claims in effect a divine selection of the Roman emperor for all secular affairs. When Marsilius further claims for him direct spiritual power, it is an easy inference that the direct divine authority and selection which theologians generally had recognised as belonging to the Pope, belonged also to the secular ruler who was now credited with similar powers. The government of the Church was by direct divine arrangement a monarchy. The inference seemed clear, and yet in medieval times it was not explicitly drawn. Medieval theories remained in a sense democratic, although their democracy needs exact definition.

It has often been suggested that modern democracy owes something to the theories of Calvin. Criticism of such a view is otiose. "On croit rêver," says M. de Lagarde, "lorsque l'on apprend de M. Doumergue, que 'les conceptions calvinistes authentiques' sont 'à l'origine du système représentatif.'" But such speculations are apt to be idle. And yet, perhaps, it is too much to expect that we should cease from indulging in them. Professor Allen as a rule avoids judgments of value, because he finds it difficult to decide what really is or is not valuable in the distressful field of political speculation. Yet Calvinism is too much even for him, and his criticism of it is the one notable and, perhaps, pardonable lapse from the rigid rule he lays down for himself at the beginning of his book.

D. O'Keeffe.

CHRONICLE

I—The Jubilee of the Uganda Mission 1879–1929

BY HUGH KELLY, S.J., M.A.

In February 1879 the first of the White Fathers, P. Lourdel, landed at Entebbe, and that moment may be considered as the beginning of the Uganda Mission—which consequently celebrates its golden jubilee this year. This is a fitting opportunity for a glance at the history of the most interesting, adventurous and successful of modern African mission fields. All the problems and difficulties which partially are met with in other missions were found united in Uganda. Paganism with its foul rites, its witch doctors and polygamy; the tropical jungle with malaria, the scourge of the whites; sleeping sickness, the scourge of the natives; that compendium of all evils, the slave trade; the hostility of Mohammedan and Protestant, the political and commercial intrigues of European countries, civil war with its battles, sieges, flights, returns, burnings—these are part of the story of Uganda. What mission can tell of all these? But no other mission can tell of a savage persecution, or can boast of a body of beatified martyrs; and no other African mission has responded so fully to the Faith and possesses a more completely developed Catholic Church. The jubilee of such a mission is not then a purely domestic matter: all who are interested in the spread of the Faith will share the joy of the White Fathers.

The district of Uganda lies between the Soudan and Lake Victoria; it is bounded on the west by Lake Albert and the Belgian Congo and on the east by Lake Rudolph and the East African Territory. It has an area of about 110,000 square miles and has a great variety of surface and temperature. It is above all a land of great lakes, the largest of which is Lake Victoria—into which Ireland, with a little trimming, would fit. The population of about three and a half millions ranges from the primitive Pygmies to the Haimatic and Buganda negroes who show a higher advance in civilisation than has been attained unaided by any negro race. The Buganda people trace their kings back for five hundred years.

Behind its deserts, marshes and forests Uganda lay isolated from the world until the middle of the last century. In 1850 its king, Suna, heard first of the existence of the outer world from a negro deserter from the Mohammedan settlement at Zanzibar. Mutesa, his son and successor, received the Englishman, Captain Speke, the first white man to penetrate to Uganda, in 1862.

Arab merchants from Zanzibar introduced Mohammedanism and the slave trade. In 1875 Stanley entered and persuaded the king to open his country to Christian missions, and sent a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* to announce the fact. The bearer of the letter was killed, but the letter was found in the heel of his boot and reached its destination. An immediate response was made. The English Church Missionary Society sent the Rev. Mr. Wilson to Uganda in 1878, and that same year ten White Fathers were sent by Lavigerie to open up this new region to the Faith.

The leader of the Uganda company was P. Livinhac—afterwards Vicar-Apostolic and Superior-General of the White Fathers; but the most remarkable man was P. Siméon Lourdel. This strong, rugged man of unquenchable energy is certainly the Apostle of Uganda,[1] and his short missionary life, to 1891, is the history of the Church in Uganda to that date.

From Zanzibar, where they were generously helped by the Holy Ghost Fathers, the missioners set out on Trinity Sunday 1878. The journey from Mombasa to Tabora can be done by train to-day in twenty-four hours. In 1878 it took three months of intolerable hardship. All baggage had to be carried on the heads of natives of whom 300 were needed. To control the porters and to guard against robbers a detachment of soldiers (askaris) had to be hired. And so the long caravan set out, headed by the banner of the Sacred Heart. Strung out for miles along the narrow paths, it struggled forward through the dense forest and quagmires. There were difficulties from the languages; there were robbers and wild beasts to be guarded against. The porters were constantly deserting with their loads. Every chieftain through whose territory they passed levied a toll in goods. And then came the great enemy of the white man, malarial fever. "First cold and pain," says Henry Drummond; "then heat and pain; then every kind of pain and every degree of heat; then the life and death struggle." The victim might arise from his first attack, but he was a wreck and he waited for the inevitable recurrence. We can imagine these heroic missioners, struggling forward, dragging limbs of lead, staggering as in delirium through the interminable forests and morasses. One of them, P. Pascal, died and had to be buried by night to avoid the blackmail of the local chief. After a journey of three and a half months they arrived at Tabora. This town was under the Sultan

[1] To the excellent sketch of his life in *Planting the Faith in Darkest Africa* by F. A. Forbes (London, Sands) we are much indebted here.

of Zanzibar and was the centre of the slave trade of east Central Africa. The missioners had leisure to observe this awful thing at close quarters. It was now at its height.

At Tabora the missioners divided—one group going to Ujiji on lake Tanganyka and the other under P. Livinhac, among whom was P. Lourdel, going north towards Lake Victoria. A journey of fifty days, not uneventful, brought the latter band to the great lake which bounds Uganda on the South. P. Lourdel and Br. Amans crossed the lake—a voyage of twenty-eight days full of danger and difficulty—and landed in Uganda proper. They were soon received by the King, Mutesa, and in spite of the opposition of the Arabs and Protestants they got permission to bring in their companions and to open a mission. On the 17 June, 1879, P. Livinhac and the rest of the band arrived and the mission of Uganda was begun. They built their first station near the king's dwelling in Rubaiga and placed it under the protection of our Lady.

The natives of Uganda were not savages; they had attained to a certain level of civil and commercial civilisation. They dressed with decency; they had some skill in the manufacture of cloth; they had evolved a certain political system, with a hierarchy of officials and an army. But the king was an absolute ruler, and his word was law and went uncontested. He had full control over the lives and properties of his subjects. When he gave audience all watched him closely and shared his moods, laughing when he laughed and weeping when he wept. Next to the king was an official called the Katakiro, the Chancellor or Prime Minister.

The missioners found King Mutesa an intelligent and even a cunning ruler. He was at once attracted by the vigour and manliness of P. Lourdel, who cured him of a fever. He showed a strong desire to hear about the Catholic religion, made great progress in the catechism, learned how to say the Rosary, and was much interested in Heaven. But the moral code of Catholicity was too much for him. His wives, his witch-doctors and the strongly entrenched pagan traditions held him back from baptism. The progress of the missionaries was at first very slow. Lavigerie had ordered them to make the process of conversion as strict and searching as in the early Church. "I insist," he said, "that, except in case of death, prospective Christians spend at least two years as postulants, and then two more years as catechumens, and that they can be baptised only at the end of four years, if they offer serious moral guarantees of perseverence." After five

months a few natives began to come for instruction; children orphaned by the slave trade were gathered together and cared for; the sick were tended. In 1880 a few baptisms were administered, and there were two hundred and fifty catechumens.

The devotion, zeal and holiness of the White Fathers soon began to have their effects, and conversions, especially among the young men of the best families, became numerous. The Arab party were at this time very strong at the king's court and had gained an ascendancy over Mutesa. It seemed as if a persecution would come on the infant mission. Acting on the instructions of Lavigerie, the missioners retired from the country to await a more favourable time. They settled at Bukumbi, south of Lake Victoria, and soon were joined by crowds of their converts and catechumens. In 1885, on the death of Mutesa, his son Mwanga invited them back, and they made a triumphal entry escorted by a flotilla of 20 boats.

Mwanga had already shown a disposition to accept the Catholic religion, and the missioners counted much on his friendliness. But their hopes were woefully misplaced. Mwanga was worthless in character and thoroughly vicious in habits. His chief minister, the Katakiro, was a bitter enemy of Christians. The Arabs were enraged at the return and success of the missioners and felt that the slave trade too was threatened. They found it easy to excite the fears of the king as to the interest that England, Germany and Egypt were showing in his country. A Protestant missioner, Bishop Hannington, was murdered, if not by Mwanga's orders at least with his connivance, and the fear of reprisals made him desperate. Everything pointed to an attack on the Christians.

The attack came in November 1885, and fell on perhaps the most promising of the Uganda converts, Joseph Mukasa. He was a young man of twenty-five years of age, loyal, upright, courageous, and much esteemed by the late King Mutesa and by Mwanga. He was made majordomo of the palace and was in charge of the 500 pages in service or training there. He was spoken of as the coming Prime Minister. He had been baptised in 1882, and had responded wonderfully to the promptings of grace. No one could teach the catechism so well. He was exceedingly charitable, and out of his salary he redeemed a few slaves a week and gave them instructions and liberty. The king had been led into detestable practices of vice by the Arabs, and Mukasa was courageous enough to remonstrate with him. He angered his master still more by his vigilance in watching over the purity of the Catholic pages. His enemies had little trouble in getting Mwanga

to condemn him. He had received Holy Communion the day of his arrest, Sunday 15 November, 1885. He was condemned to be burned alive. He would not have his hands bound, protesting that he would never dream of resisting martyrdom. He is the first negro martyr, a new phenomenon in the Church, the manifestation, reserved to our days, of a new power of the Holy Spirit —the power to raise the despised African negro to the faith, purity and heroism of the noblest ancient Catholic races.

The general outbreak, though expected every day, did not come for six months. The Arabs and the Prime Minister were urging the king to root out Christianity by force. In May 1886 the king, on returning from a hunt, found one of the Catholic pages learning his catechism and in a fury ran him through with his hunting spear. His smouldering hostility to Christianity broke out. He ordered the palace doors to be guarded, called a meeting of his councillors, many of whom were the fathers of his pages, and complained that they had given him traitors to attend on him. Charles Luanga, who had succeeded Joseph Mukasa as instructor of the pages, recognised what was coming, gathered his young Catholic charges together and spent the night in preparing them for martyrdom. Next morning they were all ordered into the great court-yard, where they found a full muster of the king's executioners—grim figures armed with swords, spears and ropes. "Let those who do not pray stand beside me," the king shouted: "and let those who do pray advance to the paling." There was no possibility of failing to recognise what was the issue. The supreme choice had to be made. Charles Luanga at once advanced to the palings, clasping the hand of Kizito, a boy of thirteen, the youngest of the pages, whom he had himself baptised the night before. All the other Catholic pages at once followed. "So it is true you are Christians?" the king asked in a rage. "Yes, master, it is true, we are Christians." "Do you intend to remain Christians?" "Yes, until death." The king called to the executioners, "Put them to death." There is nothing to beat this in the *Acts of the Martyrs*, for joyous radiant courage.

On June 3rd, Ascension Thursday, the general holocaust took place. A great heap of dried reeds was collected, and the victims were wrapped in them and then laid in a row on the ground. The executioners, hideous with painted faces, feathers, and amulets, were busy piling up a mountain of reeds and brushwood about them. A war song was chanted to the noise of tom-toms, and at the end of every verse a refrain was shouted: "The women who bore them will weep to-day: yes, to-day they will weep."

The pyre was then lighted and the executioners stood round, stoking it with fresh fuel and waiting for cries of terror and recantation, which did not come. Three of the youngest pages had been pardoned, but they begged so hard to be left with their companions that they too were trussed up in reeds and laid with the others. They were, however, removed before the fire was applied, and one survived to be a witness at the process of Beatification.

Charles Luanga was thought worthy of a special martyrdom. He was handed over to an executioner who was a past master in his awful work. His feet were thrust into a slow fire and slowly burned, so that they were reduced to charred stumps before the fire reached his body. Neither the taunts of his executioner nor his torments could wring a moan from him. " To me it seems like cooling water that you are pouring over my feet," he said.

They were all young, none of them more than twenty-five, many of them boys in their teens. None of them had been a Christian for more than a few years, and some had only just been baptised. Yet they met their awful martyrdom with a faith and joyous courage that have never been surpassed in the history of the Church. The early martyrs of Utica because their bodies were shrouded with lime were called by St. Cyprian the *massa candida*, the white company. Central Africa, said Lavigerie, has given a company like them in all things but colour, a *massa nigra*, a black company. *Laudate pueri Dominum.*

The persecution did not last more than a year; but it was followed by several years of war, civil, religious and colonial or territorial, into the details of which we need not enter. The Arabs dethroned Mwanga and made his brother king and destroyed the Christian missions. But the Christians restored Mwanga again after some years of fighting. At the end of this struggle Père Lourdel died in 1890. He was only thirty-five, but his labours and sicknesses had whitened his hair and made him an old man. His death was mourned by pagans and Christians alike. He must be regarded as one of the outstanding figures in modern African missions: he is certainly the Apostle of Uganda. At his death there were 12,000 Catholics in Uganda, and Mgr. Livinhac addressed 2,000 of them in the spacious church at Rubaiga. These things were a measure of the life work of Père Lourdel.

After his death a new phase opens in the history of Uganda. The scramble for African territory among the great nations was now in full swing, and England, France, Germany and Egypt were trying to get a footing in Uganda. The Protestant party

favoured English claims and got the East African Company—an English corporation—to send a Captain Lugard with a small but well equipped army into Uganda to secure Protestant and English ascendancy. Lugard's arrival made the Protestant party provocative and insolent. They provoked a civil war in which Lugard's trained troops had an inevitable superiority. The Catholics were driven out of their territories, and the Catholic mission houses, churches and orphanages were destroyed. Many of the women and children were sold as slaves to the Arabs and in many ways ill treated. Lugard could then impose his own conditions on Mwanga. The Protestant religion was given an ascendancy altogether out of proportion to its numbers. The English government was then petitioned by the Church Missionary Society to protect them against the apprehended future retaliations of the Catholics, and after due hesitation consented to do so. But the outrages done to the Catholics could not be ignored, and a commissioner, Sir G. Portal, was sent out to Uganda to investigate. His report was an acknowledgment of the justice of the Catholic case and conceded almost all that they demanded. The complete reduction of Uganda took some years. There was much fighting, in which there was a great destruction of life and property. Mwanga was captured in 1899 and ended his days in the Seychelles at the age of thirty-four, a victim of his own vices.

Up to the British annexation of Uganda, the natives had considered that the English stood only for Protestantism, and it was thought right to correct this false notion by giving a portion of the country to English missionaries. Accordingly in 1894 the Holy See divided the existing vicariate of Uganda into three portions. South Nyanza was given to Bishop Hirt, North Nyanza to Bishop Guillermain, both of the White Fathers, and the vicariate of the Upper Nile was assigned to the Mill Hill Fathers—the great missionary organisation which Cardinal Vaughan had founded. In June 1895 Bishop Hanlon with four priests started from Mombasa on a journey of 900 miles through uncivilised country and settled at Nsamba Hill. As in that portion of Uganda there were very few Catholics to serve as a foundation for the mission, and as the Protestant missions were well established in it, progress was slow. But the zeal and patience of the Mill Hill Fathers brought considerable results in due time, and this mission of the Upper Nile is now in a flourishing condition. It does not fall within the scope of this sketch to follow its history.

Some points in the ecclesiastical development deserve special attention; for in some of these things Uganda has attempted

successfully a work which many thought impossible and which is of the most far-reaching consequences. We refer chiefly to the formation of native priests and nuns. In 1893 a seminary was founded which after many changes was finally fixed at Bukalasa. " All our friends," says Bishop Streicher, " Europeans as well as natives, were convinced that no good would come out of the seminary. I still remember what one of our leading Catholic chiefs said to me : ' My Lord, you are wasting time and money : you have not yet learned to know the Baganda. Did you ever see a wolf change into a lamb ? You are more likely to witness that miracle than to make a priest out of one of Kinta's sons.' " (Kinta was the founder of the kingdom of Uganda). Bishop Streicher's faith was justified. After twenty years, out of a hundred students who passed through the seminary two were found worthy to be made priests. Since then there has been a steady growth of native priests and now there are 36 of them working among their own people—seven of whom have been entrusted with parishes. In the Vicariate of the Upper Nile the Mill Hill Fathers also are ordaining native priests.

In 1900 a movement was made to found a native sisterhood, and some girls were put into probationship and then entered on a regular noviceship. In 1910 the first ten took the vows of religion, and every year since then between ten and fifteen new sisters are professed. There are now 182 of these, with a Superior-General assisted by Councillors, and it is expected that they will soon be able to govern themselves without the aid of European sisters. In every mission house there is a convent of these " Daughters of Mary " who look after the children and especially prepare them for Holy Communion, and visit the sick poor. Every year 5,000 children pass through the hands of the native sisters. There are two other institutes of native nuns—one of which is modelled on the Institute of Marie Réparatrice. Quite lately a congregation of native brothers was founded under the patronage of Br. Blessed Charles Luanga. They will teach in the elementary schools and will act as lay brothers in the houses of the native clergy.

The number of converts show a steady rapid increase from 1890 when they were 12,000 up to this jubilee year when they number a quarter of a million. Nearly 450,000 baptisms have been administered since the mission was begun. One hundred and thirty six priests are engaged in Uganda, of whom 90 are White Fathers and 36 native priests. Fifty-two European nuns work on the mission, 33 White Sisters and 19 sisters of Marie Réparatrice.

In 1925 Christian Brothers from Canada came to begin in Uganda the great religious and educational work which they are doing in other countries.

But the greatest event in the history of Uganda, indeed one of the greatest in the history of Catholic missions, was the Beatification of the 22 martyrs in Rome in June 1920. There were present at the scene two Uganda natives—one of whom had been a companion of the martyrs and had lain beside them wrapped in reeds waiting to be burned. As they looked round at the stupendous basilica and gazed on that most impressive of earthly sights, the majesty of the Pope, the scarlet of cardinals, the purple of bishops, the vast crowds, the lights, the pomp which surrounds such an occasion what must have been their thoughts ? What a vast revolution they had lived through, those men still in middle life. They had been born and reared in the paganism of the jungle, its devil worship, its debased superstitions, its terror of obscene gods, its heartlessness. Forty years had seen that advance. The whole thing must have seemed to them a dream. Indeed the significance of that scene was immense. The courage, faith, spiritual insight, and purity of these young martyrs are one of the greatest triumphs of grace that have been recorded in the history of the Church. St. Paul had proclaimed that there was no distinction in God's sight between Jew and Gentile, between Greek and Roman. Now another great barrier has been thrown down and the despised negro has proved himself to be as susceptible as the white races to the breath of the Holy Spirit.

H. KELLY.

II—The Sydney Eucharistic Congress

COMMUNICATION FROM HIS GRACE ARCHBISHOP SHEEHAN

To the Editor of *Studies*

DEAR SIR.—By way of note on Father D. Noel Hehir's interesting and sympathetic article in your issue of last December, I should like to give the following particulars and statistics which have been supplied to me by our able Secretary, Father James Meany, P.P., Drummoyne, Sydney.

Finance.—The Archdiocese of Sydney guaranted the expenses of the Congress, and had raised £5,000 by a percentage quota from each parish, when another method was adopted—viz., that of raising funds by means of members' subscription. All over Australia and New Zealand members were enrolled, each

one paying a fee of one guinea and receiving in return badge, medal, portfolio of coloured prints, and the right of admittance to certain functions. These subscriptions totalled £40,000. Among the heavy charges on this sum were the following:

(1) Cost of Badges, etc., supplied to Members;

(2) The transport of the two official parties—the Papal Mission from Rome and the Permanent Committee from Paris—together with maintenance charges, etc., during visit;

(3) Preparation and rent of Showground for Outdoor Ceremonies;

(4) Preparation of boats for the Harbour Procession;

(5) Rent of several halls in the City, together with the cost of broadcasting and amplifying installations;

(6) Expenses connected with the Congress Office, which was busily at work for two years—this item includes cost of Printing, Stationery, Postal and Telegraph charges, etc.;

(7) The hurried completion of the nave of the great Cathedral of St. Mary's. (N.B.—Few of the visitors realised how close had been the race against time; the workmen left the building only a few days before the Congress commenced.

When all commitments had been honoured, a balance of £2,000 remained, which was divided between the Archbishop of Sydney and the Permanent Committee.

Spiritual Preparation.—The immediate spiritual preparation included a three days' mission in each parish, special sermons, Benediction and Exposition. The remote preparation, extending over two years, included a Crusade of Prayer among Religious and School-children, together with Exposition on one Sunday in each month. The great spiritual success of the Congress—and it was very great—was due to this steady religious campaign, directed by a few priests remarkable for their devotion to the Blessed Sacrament.

Material Preparation.—What may be called the Material Preparation was entrusted to a large number of Committees, divided and sub-divided into many sections. Among the problems with which they dealt were those of transport, accommodation, public functions, procession.

Numbers present at the different Functions

Men's Night	100,000
Children's Morning	100,000
Women's Day	120,000
St. Mary's Cathedral (on each of two occasions).	7,000
Procession (Participants and onlookers),	500,000

(N.B.—The population of Sydney is over a million, the ratio of Catholics to non-Catholics being about one to four. Of the 500,000 mentioned in the last item, probably not more than one-third were Catholics. Making due allowance for the old, infirm, and very young, one is inclined to regard the statement that half a million were present at the closing scene as an obvious exaggeration, but Father Meany who has made careful calculations along different lines maintains that it is approximately accurate. The 500,000 would include those who gathered on the headlands of the harbour, those in the streets adjoining St. Mary's, as well as those who assembled in Hyde Park, which though public property served for the occasion as the outer court of the Cathedral. This park is 40 acres in extent; allowing for vacant spaces, we may say that an area of about 20 acres was closely occupied. Your newspapers have, I am sure, already done justice to the extraordinary, and almost miraculous, respect and silence of the vast crowd).

Bishops and Clergy present at the Congress

Country	Archbishops	Bishops	Priests
Australia and New Zealand	9	31	500
U.S.A. (with Pacific Possessions)	3	8	50
Continent of Europe	—	6	38
Ireland	1	1	12
England	—	—	2
Scotland	—	—	1
India, S. Africa and other Countries	—	4	6

This was a world-wide representation, but in a very attenuated form. The number of Bishops, Archbishops, and dignitaries

present would have been much greater, if the poor Catholic Missions in India and China could have afforded to send a normal quota. The Archbishops, Bishops and Clergy from Australia and New Zealand totalled 540; the Visitors 132.

Father Meany would double the figures 132 so as to include those priests whose names do not appear in his books. He estimates the number of the laity from overseas as less than three hundred (300).

To the onlookers, the number of Clergy in the procession appeared to be much larger than these figures would seem to indicate. This is explained by the fact that the Religious Brothers in their habits took part in the ceremony. A rough check on the numbers is this :—The special Guard of the Knights of the Southern Cross marched two abreast at each side of the Clergy column (including Brothers), that is to say, for every four of the Clergy and Brothers, there were four Knights of the Southern Cross, and these latter did not exceed 1,500.

The number of lay visitors from Australia and New Zealand, who were present on the last day of the Congress, probably did not exceed 25,000. As to the number of those who came from abroad, its smallness is readily intelligible when we consider the remoteness of Australia from European centres.—As I am writing for *Studies*, I should like to express a word of most sincere thanks to the twelve Irish priests, and to my old friends and former colleagues, his Grace the Archbishop of Tuam and his Lordship the Bishop of Galway.

Let me say in conclusion that, humanly speaking, the success of our great gathering, with its most elaborate and unbelievably minute organisation, must be ascribed to Father James Meany. Undoubtedly, he had the willing assistance of many laymen and women, many priests, brothers and nuns; furthermore, he had the sympathy, support, and guidance of the venerable Archbishop of Sydney, and, so far as was possible, of the other members of our Hierarchy, but the fact remains that he alone deserves the credit for that singularly picturesque and diversified order which was manifest at every scene of the Congress—an order which was so skilfully contrived as to seem effortless and automatic, and through which we were enabled to pay such a fine tribute to Our Saviour in the Most Holy Sacrament.

✠ M. Sheehan
Coadjutor Archbishop of Sydney

REVIEWS

Biography

DANIEL O'CONNELL AND THE STORY OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION. By Michael MacDonagh. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1929. 20s.

GREAT DAYS WITH O'CONNELL. By D. L. Kelleher. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1929. 2s. 6d.

Both these books seem to me to come nearer to the true O'Connell than any others I have read. For quite frankly they make little or no attempt to estimate the rights and wrongs of O'Connell's political policy. Instead they give us the man himself; and of few political leaders is it so true that the man mattered infinitely more than the policy of the moment. It was Dan the Liberator who did the work, and those who are hard on Dan to-day would cut but a poor figure if they were made to stand even for a moment in his company. Mr. Kelleher's flash-light pictures—some of them at least, for he is not always successful—bring this home clearly enough. Morgan O'Connell's son being fostered by the herd's wife, his first attempts at bringing men together in Dublin for the new Catholic Association, the scenes at the Clare Election, his talks with Gladstone and Father Mathew, the tragi-comedy of the later imprisonment, the lonely pathos of the last scene of all—these are the things that we remember, and these are the things that matter in the history of Ireland. "The dear, fond and sometimes foolish man" so Mr. Kelleher calls him in a final phrase, and it is truer, because kindlier, than Mitchel's "wonderful, mighty, jovial, mean, old man."

But Mr. Kelleher only gives us flash-light portraits, as is his way. Mr. MacDonagh has made a more ambitious venture, and his full-length portrait of O'Connell is of extraordinary interest. For this book is a portrait, not a biography. O'Connell has yet to find his biographer, just as Ireland of the past century has yet to find her historian. Mr. MacDonagh's book has disappointed many, because they have asked from him too much. After all there is such a thing as the O'Connell myth, and we are still too close to the days of that myth, we are still too much in the days of reaction, to be able to attempt anything like a fair estimate of the man's greatness as a whole. Certainly Mr. MacDonagh fails conspicuously as an interpreter of the O'Connell policy in its successive phases; he is too preoccupied with O'Connell as a man. But the man was first and foremost a man, the greatest Irishman of his day; and we need badly what Mr. MacDonagh gives us here, in a second and revised edition, a record of his life

as a man. Some of the chapters in this book could not be bettered : the chapter on the D'Esterre duel, for example, where we can almost see what happened, minute by minute ; and the sight is a lesson in the meaning of O'Connell's career. No doubt about it, that duel—private affair though it was to all appearance—was the turning point in Dan's career : it made him the darling and the acknowledged champion of his fellow-countrymen, the man whose nod and whose smile could sway the multitude. Other chapters are no less vivid : those on the Clare Election, the defence of John Magee, the days of Mullaghmast and the Monster Meetings, and then the tale of the final collapse. It is all amazingly human, even when it is least dignified ; though I notice that Mr. MacDonagh is less unsparing in his account of the tribune's last years than he was in the earlier edition of his book. Perhaps these second thoughts lack wisdom, for the reaction through which we are living to-day, when it is the fashion to sneer at O'Connell and his astonishing buffoonery, is part of the legacy of those latter years. Things would have been very different had Dan died in 1829. But he didn't, and we must take him as we find him, the man whom Mr. MacDonagh plainly loves even when he is most inglorious. A. G.

RAMON LULL. A biography. By E. Allison Peers, M.A. London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1929. 18s.

The Gilmore Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool has already done much by his admirable translations to make known to the English-speaking world the writings of one of the most remarkable of medieval thinkers and writers, the Blessed Ramon Lull. He now offers us a biography of the Mallorcan sage and saint, a substantial volume of solid erudition and lively interest which will go far to rescue from oblivion one of the greatest worthies of the thirteenth century. Courtier, debauchee, penitent, scholar, pilgrim, missionary, philosopher, theologian, mystic, Arabic scholar and Christian apologist, logistician and poet, author of *Blanquerna* and the *Ars Magna*, Ramon Lull stands out as probably the most variegated personality of his time. We owe it very largely to Professor Allison Peers that we realise this to-day. Until he introduced us to the results of the Lullist revival in Catalonia, the only impression we could get of the Mallorcan sage was from a stray paragraph in some history of philosophy or encyclopedia—generally an obscure and contemp-

tuous attempt to explain the *Ars Magna*, with a brief biography of Ramon Lull.

Professor Allison Peers has changed all that: he gives us a real Life, full and picturesque, of a man, not the stuffed skin of a logical lizard; he enables us to see Ramon Lull in his contemporary setting as a pilgrim, an artist and a great lover of God, who spent himself in his Master's service and died the death of Stephen, stoned by the Moors at Bugia at the age of 83. It is a well filled canvas; but there is an unfinished corner of the picture, we learn little or nothing of Ramon Lull's philosophy. The *Ars Magna* gets a page, *Blanquerna* a whole chapter!

This is the only thing we can carp at in the book. The Gilmour Professor is clearly not much interested in scholasticism and still less in the Lullian variety of it; he regards it as hopelessly effete and of scant import, quite negligible as a factor in the psychic and moral constitution of his subject. It seems to the present reviewer a pity that a couple of chapters at least were not devoted to an exposition of the philosophical system known as Lullism, as it would have made the book quite complete. If Professor Allison Peers had as sympathetic an understanding of scholasticism as (say) A. E. Taylor or Etienne Gilson, he would have given us these two or more chapters, perhaps another volume, and have shown us not merely how Ramon Lull thought and argued, but how he influenced his contemporaries and shaped the history of philosophy. There is matter for a fine doctorate thesis in this omitted part of an otherwise truly admirable portrait.

Yet when all is said and done one cannot blame Professor Allison Peers for keeping the *Ars Magna* in the background; for, judging from what we have read about it, its interest is not great for the ordinary reader even if expounded adequately. Usually it is presented as an absurdity, as a mere mechanical device to promote interminable discussion, absolutely useless and effete. Yet it was as the apple of his eye to Ramon Lull. As we have now rediscovered Ramon Lull, perhaps we will go on to rediscover the *Ars Magna* as it was understood by its author.

JOHN HOWLEY.

THE LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By the Right Rev. Mgr. H. K. Mann. Vol. XV. Alexander IV to Gregory X, 1254-76. London: Keegan Paul. 1929. 15s. net.

MGR. MANN'S new volume deals with the pontificates of Alexander IV (1254-61), Urban IV (1261-4), Clement IV (1265-8) and Gregory

X (1271-6). Characteristic of this period is the extraordinary political influence of the Pope as the head of the Christian commonwealth of nations. The way for this had been prepared by St. Gregory VII; its realisation had come under Innocent III; and it was to last for just another generation, when it would be challenged successfully by the growing nationalism of the French. But at all times, even when the paternal power of the Pope was at its highest, the Christian nations were a turbulent and unruly family. To keep them steadily upon the path of virtue was beyond the capacity of any man. Hence, perhaps, the lack of candidates for the papal tiara among the Cardinals themselves, when the See of Rome became vacant, and the failure of so many Popes to survive more than a few years of office. Not one of the four Pontiffs whose lives are recorded in this volume but could subscribe himself in the truest sense "servus servorum Dei"; not one but sacrificed health and ease and happiness for the general good of Christendom.

Outstanding events in these pontificates are the destruction of the Hohenstaufen line by the defeat and death of Manfred and the execution of the youthful Conradin; the death of St. Thomas Aquinas, greatest of mediaeval theologians; the institution of a special feast of Corpus Christi, a day on which "faith should dilate in thanksgiving, hope leap with joy and charity be moved to the depths with gladness"; and the solemn reunion at Lyons of the Eastern Church with Rome.

The Hohenstaufen Empire, traditionally bent on uniting upper with lower Italy, was a perpetual menace to the temporal (and therefore to the spiritual) independence of the Holy See and had necessarily to be combated. In virtue of his divine commission as Vicar of Christ the Pope could never become a creature of the State, like the Patriarch of Constantinople in the East and the Archbishop of Canterbury in Reformed England. Lower Italy or the Kingdom of Sicily was therefore offered first to Edmund of Cornwall, and, when he failed to avail of his opportunity, to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, King of France. Charles succeeded, not without cruelty, in putting an end to the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

St. Thomas's admirable summary of Christian teaching still enjoys high honour in our schools. St. Thomas, too, it was who at the Pope's command composed the most beautiful of liturgical "offices" for the new Feast of Corpus Christi. Urban IV encouraged the Angelic Doctor and his illustrious contemporary, St. Bonaventure, in their studies; whilst Clement IV wrote

affectionately to the celebrated English Franciscan, Roger Bacon, and asked to be supplied with a copy of the friar's works. In the unhappy bickerings between the secular clergy and the new mendicant Orders the Holy See frequently interfered, to the great advantage of the friars.

Few will read unmoved the story of the Reunion Council at Lyons, where the Greek prelates professed obedience to the Holy Father and acknowledged his primacy. Wonderful, indeed, was the feast of Saints Peter and Paul in A.D. 1274, when the Pope sang High Mass in presence of an immense concourse, including the Eastern envoys and numberless prelates from the West, and St. Bonaventure preached "a glorious sermon" on a text of the prophet Baruch. But yet more wonderful was the sight on the following July 6th, when thousands wended their way to the Cathedral of St. John at the foot of the hill of Fourvière. Here the Greeks made formal submission on behalf of the Emperor Michael and the whole Eastern Church. Then Gregory X intoned the *Te Deum* and preached himself on the text "With desire have I desired to eat this Pasch with you." Alas that the promise of that blessed day was so quickly shattered. The envoys returned to a divided East, and soon Greeks hated Greeks more intensely than they had hitherto hated Latins. Ancient bitterness triumphed over reason and faith. The seamless robe of Christ was again rent. Once only, at Florence, and then but for a short spell, was the attempt to unite East and West destined to succeed.

Mgr. Mann has performed his task with his usual industry. The Tomaltaih referred to (p. 90) is Tomaltach O'Connor, transferred from Elphin to the Archbishopric of Tuam in 1258. His death is entered in the Annals under 1279. Patrick O'Scanlan (mentioned pp. 199-200) is Maolpadraig O Sgannail, O.P., archbishop of Armagh, whose name occurs frequently in the Annals between 1253 and 1270. His negligence in collecting papal taxes got him into trouble at Rome; but his remissness in this unpopular work was as nothing compared with that of the bishop of London who, when threatened by King and Pope with the loss of his mitre, replied that a mitre could be replaced by a helmet, and if deprived of the one he would don the other! The preference of national to general Christian interests is a very common phenomenon indeed, even in the thirteenth century.

J.R.

Celtica

CAITHRÉIM THOIRDHEALBHAIGH. Edited and translated by Standish Hayes O'Grady. I.T.S. XXVI and XXVII. Two vols. London: Simpkin Marshall. 1929. 25s. each.

This is the last work we may hope for from the hands of Standish Hayes O'Grady, rover, gold-digger, sailor, and scholar. In 1857, when he was twenty-five, he edited *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Gráinne* for the Ossianic Society of which he had been for two years president. After his *Wanderjahre*, he began in 1886 his catalogue of the MSS in the British Museum, which makes the first volume of Dr. Flower's recent edition. Then came his invaluable *Silva Gadelica;* and the piece of work under review remained unfinished at his death in 1915. The sheets have been in print for years, but, as the work of editing was incomplete, publication has been delayed until now, when Dr. Flower has brought out these two volumes for the Irish Texts Society.

Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh is an account of the long feud, in the 12th and 13th centuries, between two families of the O'Briens of Thomond, one of them in alliance with de Clare, which ended in the triumph of Muirchertach son of Toirdhealbhach Mór, who defeated and slew de Clare in 1318 (see Curtis, Hist. Med. Ireland, p. 244). It is therefore a text of historical importance, and gives a good picture of the rivalries which existed at the time, and the kind of warfare that was carried on. It is an occasion for rejoicing that it is at last available in print. The Irish Texts Society will do a great service if they continue to publish such texts as this, which are either still unpublished or out of print.

O'Grady's work has the great qualities and the small defects that we expect from him. The text is from two MSS., one in the Royal Irish Academy, the other in Trinity College. Italics are not used to mark extended contractions, and slight changes of spelling are silently made. These seem to be in the direction of bringing the spelling of the paper MS. (H) into conformity with that of the vellum (A). But the translation is a great achievement. The overburdened noisy style of the Irish text (Dr. Flower well remarks that it was meant for recital and not for reading) is rendered into calm dignified English with wonderful success. The passage, p. 39, beginning :—

A haithle na himagaillme sin Donnchaid rena deghmuinntir, ro éirig go hurmaisnech oscarda dá éided féin isin inad sin. Tugadh ar dtús a uasaléided dá innsaigid .i. cotún daingen degchumtha dlúithimairech díneitrigech derganfad-

ach deschiumasbláith delbsnuadach dathcróiderg digraise (MS hiomagallmha, Dhonnchaidh, dheaghmhuinntir, húirmheisneach, osgurdha, uasaléidigh, dlúithiomaireach, dealbhnuadhach, dioghraise),

becomes in English :—

Donough's harangue to his followers being ended, on the same spot he set about harnessing of himself. The first piece brought to him was a trusty well-made acton, dense, close-ridged ; easily he assumed it, and the extent to which it protected him was from his lower throat to the point of his round knotted knees. Over which integument again he was invested with a loose mailshirt of hard and glittering rings that made a rough surface ; close of texture it was, with gilded border ornamented variously, etc.

The printing and binding are up to the standard of the Irish Texts Society, and that is high praise. M. D.

GAELIC LITERATURE SURVEYED. By Aodh de Blácam. Dublin : Talbot Press. 1929. 12s. 6d.

IRISH students will be grateful to Mr. de Blácam for this very interesting history of Irish literature. To say that he has supplied a long-felt want would be to express in a trite phrase the feelings of everyone who reads the book. His aim has been twofold. First, to describe the content of Irish literature and to attempt a literary criticism of that content. Secondly, to give to the literature its proper setting, historical and social, so that the development of various schools and movements may be more clearly, and in a more reasoned way, understood. This ambitious programme, it will be seen, is a new thing in the history of Irish letters. A programme, too, which has involved such a wide range of reading, and of searching in innumerable periodicals, catalogues and prefaces, etc., as will astound the reader who realises the scarceness of anything like ready-made materials.

The best features of the book are the chapters dealing with the Fenian cycle, with Bardic Poetry, and with Early Modern Literature. The following from his "Estimate of the Cycle" may give an idea of the attitude which he adopts in dealing with the Fenian stories. "The gentler emotions of the Fenian cycle are awakened when we walk through Dublin's streets, and sight the curving highland country to the south, over which (we reflect) it would be good to go roving with the happy company of Fionn." Such, one imagines, would have been Pádraig Pearse's interpretation of the stories, too, as he talked with his *daltái* in Sgoil Éanna on the slopes of those highlands. And such is the attitude of mind exhibited throughout the whole book. The author wishes to make us feel that the poets and scholars whose works we read are no

mere detached figures to be viewed simply from an academic point of view. They are much more. They lived their lives, most of them, in the plains and on the hillsides that we look at so rarely with an understanding eye. Their poems were written, their annals compiled, their stories told about rivers and lakes and valleys which we to-day often regard solely as pleasure resorts. To see Gleann an Smóil with the hero Oisín on his magic horse; to look at Beann Eadair of a summer morning and think of the Carl of the Drab Coat, and of his gargantuan race with the son of the King of Thessaly to save the honour of the Fianna; to look at a little cabin on a Kerry mountain-slope and recall that in just such a one was held one of those Courts of Poetry that appraised, with a very critical judgment indeed, the poems of Eoghan Ruadh or of the Mangaire Súgach—such are the lessons which Mr. de Blácam would teach us.

In such a mine of thousands of details, it would not be strange to find a few faults. Perhaps the one which annoys most is the author's persistence in "Anglicising" names—though as a rule he gives the Irish form in the margin. The book, as he says, is written for those who "are reasonably proficient in the living language"; so there seems to be no excuse for the change. We should also be spared such forms as "O'Canty" for "Ón Cháinte," and "Dudley Mac Firbis" for "Dubhaltach Mac Firbhisigh." Some other details, notably in the matter of misprints, would require correction, but in a work of such a nature it would be unfair to stress them. One other suggestion, however, which could be acted on in the second edition. If indices of authors and of principal works were added, the value of the book for students would be increased immensely. S. Ó C.

Classics

PLATONISM. By John Burnet, F.B.A. Sather Classical Lectures. University of California Press and Cambridge University Press. 1928. 9s. net.

These all-too brief lectures form the last contribution of their regretted author to a subject which he had made peculiarly his own. Most students are long since familiar with the methods originated by him simultaneously with the equally brilliant Professor A. E. Taylor. These methods, however their results may ultimately work out, have betokened almost as great a revolution in Platonic studies as that initiated by Campbell's application of stylometry to the *Sophistes and Politicus* in 1867.

They consist very largely in the simple expedient of taking Plato at his word, and treating him as what he has clear *prima facie* claims to be, our best authority both on the views of Socrates and on his own. This is not so simple an expedient, indeed, as it may seem, because of the contradictions not only between Plato and Xenophon, but, more seriously, between Plato and Aristotle. Xenophon is easy to dispose of, and Professor Burnet may be said to have given him his *coup de grâce* in his edition of the *Phaedo*. Aristotle is a different matter, and we do not think that even this work will succeed in setting his authority to one side.

It is a very easy work to read, but suffers considerably from the fault of repetition. Nearly a third of every chapter is taken up with a recapitulation of the previous one. It is not clear whether Professor Burnet himself ever reviewed it for the Press. He could hardly have let pass the statement in a note to p. 5, that Agrigentum was a colony of Rhodes, nor the ugly misprint in a note on p. 7. However, these are small matters, to which it is perhaps ungracious to refer. The treatment of Plato's life and of the order of his dialogues in the early chapters, does not add much to accepted doctrine; neither does the discussion of the *Letters*, as to the genuineness of most of which there is growing unanimity. Where the book does break new ground is in its chapters on Plato's later philosophy.

Professor Burnet now definitely makes the case that the theory of Ideas or Forms was practically altogether peculiar to Socrates; that Plato's earlier works were intended to give an accurate account and justification of his master's teaching to a new generation, and that from the *Parmenides* onwards Plato only mentions the theory of Ideas in order, as in that work, to critise it. For his justification of his master, Plato invented the new literary medium of the prose dialogue; in his later works he departs more and more from that form, a departure foreshadowed in the *Theaetetus*. One very valuable hint given by Professor Burnet is the suggestion that the undoubted obscurity and difficulty of Plato's later works is due, not only to his abandonment of the form best suited to his genius, but to his adoption of the Isocratean rule against hiatus. Besides his published work, his later philosophy was set forth more explicitly in his Academy lectures. It was much more mathematical than his earlier teaching, and hence was misunderstood by Aristotle, whose genius was for biology.

Professor Burnet expects to be criticised for unfairness to

Aristotle; perhaps it is rather a matter for admiration that he so boldly takes sides in so ancient an argument. He does seem, however, to be rather hasty in his views on Scholasticism, which, as Professor Taylor himself has insisted, was by no means hide-bound Aristotelianism, but rather a synthesis with a considerable Platonic element in it. The boast that "what we must call the Platonist element continued to hold its place in England" is therefore a little irrelevant to the whole matter. Finally, no one who knows anything will be either dismayed or surprised to hear that Aristotle would not have admitted any separation between revealed and non-revealed truth. It could hardly have occurred to him; and there, surely, St. Thomas was no slave to Aristotle.

This little book contains so much wisdom in so short a space that we can only regret that it is not thrice as long, and that we shall never have another from its gifted author. M. T.

Economics

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS. By George O'Brien. London: Longmans. 1929. 10s. 6d. net.

We welcome the appearance of this scholarly book by Professor O'Brien on a subject of such vital national interest as agricultural economics, not merely for the masterly and well-documented treatment of a very profound problem, but as being among the first fruits of the transfer of higher agricultural education to the Universities.

The book is divided into three chapters. Chapter I deals with the prices of agricultural products in general, chapter II with the prices of particular agricultural products, and chapter III with the State and agriculture.

In the first chapter the author explains the necessity for considering fluctuations in agricultural prices apart from general price fluctuations, and enumerates several distinctive features in agricultural production which render the effects of price changes exceptionally severe: namely (1) inelasticity of supply, (2) length of the production process, and (3) the lag between the movement of agricultural and other prices.

In the second chapter, which deals with the prices of particular agricultural products, it is shown that the variable supply of agricultural products, coupled with the inelastic demand, results in wide price fluctuations, which vary inversely with the width of the market. It is pointed out that farmers producing and marketing individually can never hope to raise prices apart from

State action, and that an increase in profits must be looked for in the lowering of production costs. The arguments in this chapter are very ably marshalled, and numerous authorities are quoted in support of the conclusions reached.

The most interesting portion of the book is undoubtedly that which deals with the State and agriculture. Justification for State interference in agriculture is based, first on the national importance of the industry, and secondly on the fact that, owing to the persistent small scale organisation of farming, it is peculiarly helpless to improve by its own efforts. In view of these considerations, it is not surprising that practically every modern country has adopted a definite agricultural policy. It is emphasised throughout that the State can contribute considerably to the advancement of the agricultural industry through whatever assistance it may give to the development of the co-operative movement. Such development is regarded as the pivot on which all improvement in marketing depends, and its encouragement should therefore form the central point of any State policy designed to increase marketing efficiency.

The conclusion of this chapter, dealing with protective agricultural policies, is of special interest for this country at present, as it opens up the problem of the effects of a national agricultural policy on the rural population. On page 173, it is stated that "the principal aims at which protective policies are directed are, first, a large production of food, and second, the maintenance of a large rural population. The advantages of a large food supply are obvious, especially in case of war when foreign supplies are in danger of being cut off by enemy action. The advantages of a large rural population are less definite." The last sentence of this quotation touches very debatable ground and will scarcely meet with general acceptance in Ireland.

It is further stated :—

> If the end desired is the production of a large food supply, the correct policy is the encouragement, by subsidies or import duties, of arable cultivation, which feeds at least four times as many persons as can be fed from the same area of grass. A duty simply on the crop desired to be encouraged, for example wheat, will not achieve this object in itself, as it will probably lead to a mere substitution of the protected for unprotected crops and the total area under tillage will not be increased.

The arguments adduced in favour of this statement do not bear too close analysis. It is stated that by the adoption of general agricultural tariffs Germany and France have succeeded in maintaining a large supply of home-grown food. One of the

results of this policy in those countries is stated to be a relative slackening of industrial progress! The English policy of cheap food is contrasted with the German and French policy—"England wanted cheap food and was prepared to pay the price of risking starvation in war time." "But when a food-producing policy became necessary in 1916, it took the form of encouraging tillage by means, not of *import duties*, but of compulsory tillage and guaranteed prices." An argument that is not very convincing when one bears in mind the conditions of transport in 1916.

Professor O'Brien is to be congratulated on the timely production of an important work, which provides advanced agricultural students with a useful text book, while all those interested in questions of national economic policy will find its thought-provoking pages well worthy of study, particularly the section dealing with the important problem of the State in relation to the Agricultural Industry. C. Boyle.

Education

ENGLISH GIRLHOOD AT SCHOOL. By Dorothy Gardiner. London: Milford. 1929. Pp. X., 501. 18s. net.

The dominant characteristic of this elaborate and very serviceable work is the increasingly effective use made of the courses and authorities, as the writer proceeds. Citation, with precise references, is the main method of the writer, who with entire justice, yet with reserve, says that "to the British Museum and the Record Office I owe my introduction to the greater number of the English schoolgirls who appear in these pages." The thoroughness of this essential side of the history of education is naturally more obvious as the book approaches the 18th century. Here, it is less marked with the idea of presenting "a garden of girls"; it attains the level of a full and definitive treatise. Miss Gardiner would do well to consider the possibility of a further volume, developing that period, with a fuller presentation of the original texts. For instance, the work of Hannah and Martha More, the work even of Mrs. Trimmer, could be made to render much greater service. One gets the impression that while the citations are numerous, apposite, and carefully referred to their sources, they are here much too crowded together, and lack their appropriate exposition and correlation. As it is, they have tended to depress the writer's own part of the work, which takes on at times the appearance of being casual, haphazard, and incomplete.

On two general aspects of Miss Gardiner's handling of her ten years of research, congratulations can with entire justice be more unreserved. She is not content to deal with English girlhood, though her title and her introduction would both indicate such a limitation. It is a pleasure to find continental education so fully treated, even if detailed comparisons are not always instituted with England. Thus the presentation of mediaeval education in Paris and the entire treatment of the Renaissance aspects of culture in respect of women deserve every praise. Perhaps it is true that in the period 1400-1550 the Low Countries afforded far fuller instances of direct influence on English training than did Italy, France, or even Spain. Education, even in its higher grades, was in the case of girls curiously associated with the influence of main trade routes.

Again, Miss Gardiner has rendered enduring service to the history of education by the continuous stress laid on the details of the education of children of what in her special period, the later 17th and 18th centuries, were called and treated as "the Lower Orders." The terrible abuses that marked the "residential working charity schools with a partial endowment," as well as the apprenticeship system which it tended to supplant, are stated clearly, if perhaps too succinctly. She very truly states in one sentence that "the abuse was probably seen at its worst in the Charter Schools founded for instructing poor Irish children in English and the principles of the Protestant religion" (p. 325). For this, the unquestionable and splendid detailed work of John Howard is referred to, with specific reference given. Howard did not stand alone; and it may be added that the heaviest responsibility in this grave matter rests directly on such men as John Hely Hutchinson and his eminently placed colleagues in the Dublin House of Commons of the time (1788-1792). They utilised Howard's Reports fully in their own; they re-echoed his censures and his proposals for redress; and neither then, nor all through the years that ensued in the following generation, did they do anything for practical reform. Things were far worse in 1824 than when Howard toured the Charter Schools in 1781-82 and 1787-88.

These schools were an importation into Ireland, though the final and total responsibility lies on the Established Church and the landlord class in Ireland. Miss Gardiner could, with added value to her most creditable work, follow English systems into other lands, and follow English girls educated abroad, as so many were in her special period. T. C.

History

THE CAPUCHINS. By Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. 2 Vols. London: Sheed & Ward. 1928. 15s. net.

THE writer of these volumes is well known in the English-speaking world. His Life of St. Francis and other works dealing with Franciscan beginnings have long since established his reputation as a scholar, at least in English-speaking countries. The present work is of a different character and deals with events which occurred many hundred years after the time of St. Francis—viz.: with the rise and development of the Capuchin Order, which dates from the year 1525. The pleasing, elegant and flexible style of the writer ought to secure for him a wide circle of readers. To scientific historians, however, the work will hardly commend itself—not even, we venture to think, to those of his own Order. Much of the work is rather an apologia than a critical history. It is to appear shortly in French, German, Italian and Spanish. We forecast that the strictures of continental critics will be very severe.

The temper which the author so rightly attributes to Wadding —that he was "generous and impartial"—is, unfortunately, a temper which cannot be ascribed to himself; for his work is marked throughout, whenever the Order of the Friars Minor of the Observance is concerned, by an *ex parte* spirit. The manifestation of this spirit, we need hardly explain, is not voluntary on Father Cuthbert's part. Having spent his life in the study of Franciscan origins—and he is rightly to be congratulated on the distinction he has achieved in this connection—possibly he found no time to concern himself with the general history of the Franciscan Order up to the time of the rise of the Capuchins. Whatever the explanation be, he shows invariably in the present work a deplorable lack of knowledge of the history of the Friars Minor of the Observance.

About two-thirds of Volume I are devoted to an appreciation of the ideals and aspirations of Fra Matteo da Bascio and his first companions, who with him originated the Capuchin movement. A whole chapter of Part I treats of the "Apostasy of Fra Bernardino Ochino," one of the first Vicars-General of the Order, who left the Order of Friars Minor to join Fra Matteo and his associates, but who subsequently left the Capuchins to join the "Reform" of Luther. His defection all but effected the suppression of the new institution. But the blow was providentially averted; for the Capuchins were destined to accomplish great things in the

Church. "A Domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris."

The author tells with great frankness the story of the first Capuchins; though, as we shall explain later, we cannot agree with some of his interpretations of hard facts nor with certain of his deductions. The origins of this Order, as described by Fr. Cuthbert, are absolutely *sui generis* in the history of religious institutions. A certain Friar Minor, Fra Matteo da Bascio, a man not only of very little learning but who despised learning, hearing from some "knowledgeable" person that St. Francis wore a certain peculiar form of hood, not then in use, decided to adopt it and live in a hermitage. His inspirer must have been as ignorant as himself, but this young man's imagination was fired beyond control by the new revelation. Knowing only too well that his superiors would not entertain for a moment his futile designs, he suddenly broke cloister one night and made his way to Rome. It would seem that through the influence of the Duchess of Camerino, the niece of the Pope, he succeeded in obtaining an audience with His Holiness and permission "to wear this habit worn by our father St. Francis and to observe the Rule *to the letter* as he gave it." "To the letter," in this connection, meant the rejection or non-acceptance of the papal declarations of the Rule issued by various Popes, notably by Innocent III, Nicholas III, and Clement V—all of whom sought to interpret St. Francis's mind.

On his return from Rome Matteo was treated as an apostate and incarcerated, as Fr. Cuthbert explains, in accordance with the provisions of Canon Law. Through the intervention, however, of the Duchess of Camerino he soon regained his liberty. Two other Friars, the brothers Lodovico and Raffaele da Fossombrone, imitating Matteo's example, also took to flight and, armed with a letter from the Duchess, proceeded to Rome, where they obtained permission to join Matteo and repair to a hermitage. In 1528 the Duchess herself brought to them the bull "Religionis zelus," which gave the new community canonical status, placing it under the jurisdiction of the Conventuals. The following year a Chapter of twelve vocals was celebrated at Albacina, and appropriate Constitutions were enacted, of which Fr. Cuthbert gives the following summary:—

> Thus then were the friars of the new reform to live. They were to recite the Divine Office on a monotone without chant or modulation of voice and rise at midnight for Matins even on the last three days of Holy Week. No public office was to be added to the Divine Office, that so the brothers might

have more time for mental prayer. Only one Mass was ordinarily to be said in each friary, at which all the priests should be present; but on solemn feasts all the priests might celebrate. They were not to accept stipends for Masses, nor to sing High Masses to attract a concourse of people. On no account were they to follow funerals or celebrate dirges; nor to take part in processions except the liturgical processions of Corpus Christi and Rogation days. Silence was to be strictly observed in the friaries. At table ordinarily only one dish was to be served. The friars were not to quest for meat, cheese or eggs; but if these foods were voluntarily offered them, they might accept them. No store of food might be laid in beyond what was necessary for three or four days or a week at most; but they must quest from day to day. Those who were unable to go barefooted, might wear sandals. The Superiors were to send out preachers frequently "that they may not be idle in the vineyard of the Lord"; and not only during Lent but at all times; but they must not accept remuneration for their preaching . . . . . Their houses were to be built outside cities and towns, yet not far distant from them; the proprietorship always being vested in the municipality or the donor, who might turn the friars out at will; in which case the brethern must without delay go and seek another place. Wherever possible the houses must be constructed of wattles and mud; but where this is not possible stone may be used; the cells were to be so poor and small that they might be taken for sepulchres rather than cells. The churches too must be small and poor, though withal decent and clean; only two or three vestments were allowed and these must not be of velvet, silk or goldcloth. Even the chalices must be of pewter, not of silver or gold. (I, pp. 53–54).

At this Chapter Fra Matteo was elected Vicar-General, but resigned ten days later, and Fra Lodovico da Fossombrone was appointed in his stead. Fr. Cuthbert accounts for Matteo's resignation thus: "The responsibility of government had weighed upon him, and he was restless to take up again the vagabond life of God's evangelist. Simply he told the friars, God willed him to be a wandering preacher; there lay his vocation; he was fitted for none other. So . . . . he handed over the government to Lodovico and again betook himself to the road." (I, p. 59). The official designation of the new venture was "Fratres Minores de vita *eremitica*," a designation that obtained until 1534, when the fraternity began to be officially known as "Capuchins."

Fra Matteo da Bascio and Lodovico da Frossombrone subsequently came back to the Order from which they had fled. As the author puts it, Fra Matteo passed "out of the Reform of which unwittingly he was the herald." Matteo's preaching, we are told, was invariably: "To Hell with sinners all and sundry." How different from the "*Pax et Bonum*" of his Seraphic Father. An Ultonian cry like this seems to show how little conversant Matteo was with the first Franciscan ideals, of which Fr. Cuthbert proposes him as a champion. His ignorance of

early Franciscan life is also demonstrated in his anxiety to obtain pontificial permission to wear a beard. For the Canon Law in the time of St. Francis prohibited clerics *nutrire barbam ;* and the severest words ever uttered by the Holy Patriarch were formulated against brethern *barbam longiorem nutrientes*—as Matteo would have known, if he had read the Life of St. Francis by Celano.

According to a story recorded by Fr. Cuthbert (I, p. 106, note 46) " Matteo remarked that neither Lodovico nor himself was worthy of such a devout company " as the Capuchins. But were they not the originators or founders of the movement ? Disgruntled at not being re-elected at the Chapter forced upon him in 1535, Lodovico " refused the customary obeisance to the newly elected Vicar," Bernardino d'Asti, " and heaped bitter reproaches upon the capitular fathers for their ingratitude. Again he recited all he had done and suffered, and ended with a menace : ' Know you that I am Lodovico da Fossombrone ; I am a Tenaglio. I have made a great stir, and I know how to make a yet greater ' " ! (I, p. 93). We are told by the author, on the authority of Princess Vittoria Colonna, that Lodovico sought to make good his threat : " Cardinal Quiñones, who in 1526 as Minister General had excommunicated him as a fugitive from the Order, now showed himself ready to use him as an instrument against the Capuchins." Vittoria Colonna, be it remarked, was not above suspicion ; she was suspected of Lutheran tendencies, being associated with such persons as the apostate Occhino, Cardinal Pole (who was charged with favouring Luther's theory of justification) and others condemned by the Holy Office. It must be said, however, that she genuinely loved the Capuchins ; and when their suppression was sought in the thirties of the sixteenth century, " behind Bernardino d'Asti [the Vicar General] stood Vittoria Colonna—that ' virile soul in a feminine body.' It was she who marshalled the forces of defence, whilst Barnardino held in hand the company under his command." (I, p. 99).

Though Vittoria had led them to victory, the Capuchins at this period were not a happy family. If Boverius is to be accepted as an authority, measures had to be adopted to prevent members from leaving the Congregation ; and some had to be proceeded against even for heresy and for violations of the vow of poverty. Abuses such as these could have taken place anywhere in those troubled times ; but it is unusual to find them at the very beginning of a " Reform."

The Friars Minor (of the Observance), so highly lauded by Leo X in 1517, are represented by Fr. Cuthbert as hopelessly

relaxed and decadent some eight years later. We do not deny that there were some individual abuses, as is the case at any time in every religious Order, but wholesale relaxation, such as Fr. Cuthbert suggests, by no means obtained. To assure oneself that the Order of Friars Minor (of the Observance) was not relaxed and deeadent at the time when Fra Matteo and others left it, one has only to apply the Gospel criterion : *Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.* Taking the Sanctity-Tree of the Order of Frairs Minor, what did it yield *during the very life-time of Fra Matteo da Bascio* ? It produced as many as fifteen canonized Saints and fifteen others whom the Church has declared Blessed. During the same period—the life-time of Fra Matteo—the Capuchins produced only one to be elevated to the honours of the altar, viz., St. Felix of Cantalice.

The author traces the Franciscan pedigree of the Capuchins, through the Friars Spirituals, back to the first age of the Order (See appendix, page 447). Who were the Friars Spirituals ? They were a turbulent and often a fraudulent faction within the Order of St. Francis, who advocated the observance of the Rule *ad litteram, sine glossa,* thereby rejecting the pontifical declarations on the Rule. It is only too true that the Capuchin movement revived these ideas, as P. Callaey, O.S.F.C., demonstrates in the article cited by Fr. Cuthbert (*Ibid.*). But our author forgets, or is perhaps not aware, that the Spirituals were condemned and suppressed by John XXII nearly two hundred years before the origin of the Capuchins. At the very beginning of the Order their pretensions were opposed by men like St. Anthony of Padua and St. Bonaventure.

In a Chapter held in 1535 the Capuchins made a fundamental but consolidating alteration in their Constitutions. They enacted : " We accept only as the one living and authentic commentary on the Rule the declarations of the Sovereign Pontiffs, especially Nicholas III and Clement V of happy memory." Fr. Cuthbert, who hitherto in this work has evinced such enthusiastic admiration for the *ad litteram* observance of Rule by Fra Matteo and his companions, now makes the astounding observation : " In truth to observe any Rule to the letter without gloss is a practical impossibility " (I, p. 94).

At succeeding Chapters, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, other wise modifications were adopted to the great benefit of the Order. Houses of Study, for instance, which were forbidden in the first Constitutions, began to be erected everywhere after the Council of Trent. The Order spread rapidly

throughout Italy and Sicily; and when, in 1574, the decree of Paul III which prohibited its expansion beyond the Alps was withdrawn, it established many houses in France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Tyrol, Austria, Hungary, Spain.

The admirable activities of the Capuchins in these parts is set forth with much glamour—but by no means too much—by the author in his second volume. In fact, to draw attention to an unpardonable lack of appreciation of these activities on the part of historians seems to have been the instigating motive of the present work. The Jesuits and the Capuchins, as our author shows, deserve all praise. But it must be added that there would have been little left to counter-reform if the older Orders—Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian and Carmelite—had not stemmed the tide from the beginning. Were Fr. Cuthbert only a little more magnanimous, he would have at least hinted at the grand opposition to the "Reformation" set up by the Friars Minor in Germany and other parts.

All the second volume affords informative and delectable reading. One naturally seeks to find what of interest Fr. Cuthbert has to tell of the Capuchins in Ireland. We must say that his account is rather disappointing. The Irish Capuchins in the seventeenth century did much more than he records or even insinuates. The story which he tells at page 197 of Vol. I, cannot be considered anything more than a legend:—

> The first petition had come to them (Capuchins) in the days of their first organisation, and it came from certain of the clergy and people of Ireland, whose delegates appeared at a General Chapter and besought the capitular fathers to send friars to that country, or failing that, to give them a copy of the Constitutions according to which certain religious houses might be reformed; but the Chapter was unable to accede to either request.

The Capuchins came to Ireland in the first part of the seventeenth century. Considering their numbers, which were insignificant when compared with those of the long-established Friars Minor, they did splendid work in the cause of Faith and Fatherland. The author's account of their activities is compressed into a few pages and is mainly concerned with Francis Nugent, the founder of the Irish Mission of the Order. Fr. Nugent was a very zealous and a very remarkable man; a very good Capuchin, but (as would seem) a very poor Irishman. Of him Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, wrote to Luke Wadding that he was of that section of the clergy "who seem to aim at nought else than the total exclusion of the Old Irish from all offices of dignity in the realm; which intention is openly avowed by the Capuchin Father Nugent in

his letters to the Congregation, saying that those who treat in favour of the Earls, or other exiled nobles, are traitors to their country and fawners upon Spain, and that he trusts that neither the French by way of intercession nor the Spaniards by force of arms will aid them to the recovery of their lands ; with much more in same strain." (Hist. MSS. Com. Report on Franciscan MSS, p. 105). On the authority of Nicholas Archbold the author states that Fr. Nugent was offered the Primacy on the death of Peter Lombard ; but his name does not appear in the list of candidates submitted to the Holy See by the Nuncio in Flanders on that occasion, and dated Feb. 21, 1626. A Father Nugent, who was a Dominican, does appear in that list. G. C.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Vol. VII : The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome. Edited by S. A. Cook, Litt. D. ; F. E. Adcock, M.A. ; M. P. Charlesworth, M.A. Cambridge : University Press. 1928. 37s. 6d.

A CAMBRIDGE scholar was recently given this formidable volume to review. It contains 988 pages, 14 maps (excellent as usual), and sundry genealogical and chronological tables. Commonsense and convenience would seem to suggest that it should have been split into two volumes : one on the Hellenistic Monarchies, the other on the Rise of Rome. If that had been done, purchasers of the former volume would have gained an extraordinarily interesting and brilliantly written volume on Hellenistic Greece ; they would have lost an unusually solid and heavily written volume on early Rome. The Cambridge scholar charitably suggested that the two had been combined in one to make sure that all interested in Roman history would read the " vastly more interesting " chapters on Hellenistic Greece.

To begin with the Greeks, Mr. Tarn, whose chapters on Alexander and the Diadochi were the most brilliant section in volume VI, continues his tale with an introductory chapter on the Hellenistic Kingdoms and three more on Macedonian history. Two other notable chapters are by Prof. Rostovtzeff : on Ptolemaic Egypt and Syria. His examination of the social and economic conditions of life in these two typical Hellenistic kingdoms opens up wide horizons. Both countries were in close commercial relations with India and the Far East ; in both the monarchy was of a semi-divine character, foreshadowing the Empire of Augustus ; and in Ptolemaic Egypt we find a type of civil organization which later influenced profoundly the development of the Roman civil service. Prof. Ferguson, familiar to us all

since his *Hellenistic Athens*, writes on the leading ideas of the age ; Mr. Barber on Alexandrian literature ; there is no chapter on Hellenistic art, but many will find the chapter on Hellenistic science and mathematics (by Dr. W. H. S. Jones and Sir Thomas Heath) the most interesting in the book. To these earlier chapters should be added two from the end of the volume, one (by Dr. Cary) on the surprising career of the Sicilian tyrant Agathocles, the other (by Professor Tenney Frank) on Pyrrhus, "a viking chieftain running amuck in a Renaissance city."

Of the outside world—neither Greek nor Roman—we hear little. Mr. J. M. de Navarro writes on "the Coming of the Celts"—an advent most unwelcome to Pyrrhus and his kind. His evidence is mainly archaeological, and we must frankly admit that La Tène A, B and C make heavy reading. But his analysis of the evidence of Avienus is of great interest. Dr. Schulten has shown that the *Ora Maritima* of this late latin writer is derived mainly from a lost Massiliote *Periplus*, and is of real value in determining early trade-routes between the Mediterranean and the northern seas. Dr. Schulten himself contributes a chapter to this volume on the Carthaginians in Spain. His account of Tartessus and early Iberian civilization is a masterly summary of evidence that has to be gathered from out of-the-way retailers of every sort of ancient learning.

And then there are the chapters on Roman history. Shortly before his death last year, Dr. Julius Beloch, the veteran rationalist of Greek and Roman historical criticism, issued a volume of studies in early Roman history. It was a digression from the study of Greek history to which he had given his life, but he justified it on the plea that early Roman history has proved the school of all modern historical criticism, which dates from Niebuhr. There is much truth in the claim ; and modern archaeological research has done something of recent years to supply new evidence in the place of all that the critics have destroyed. For an advanced student of historical method there can be no better field in which to learn the theory of his craft—but he must be an advanced student, and he must be prepared for many tedious hours. Dr. Stuart Jones and Mr. Hugh Last, to whom most of this section has been entrusted, do their best with the material. Valiantly they discuss and they criticise ; painfully they fit together the disjointed scraps of archaeological fact. It is an impressive piece of work, and one feels that the job has been done thoroughly. But oh, for the touch of Warde-Fowler's hand ! Anyhow, though the critics have robbed us of our legends, they have at least

confirmed from archaeological evidence the substantial truth of early Roman history as we learnt it when we were children. That is something to be thankful for. A. G.

Sociology

THE PARISH AND PLAY. By Paul Hanly Furfey, PH.D. Philadelphia: Dolphin Press. 1928. $2.00.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL WORK. By John O'Grady, PH.D. New York and London: The Century Co. 1928. $2.50.

THESE two beautifully produced volumes are typical of America's present literary output on social activities. If we may take the literary output as an indication of the practical work that is being accomplished or undertaken, we have good reason to look to the Church in America for light and inspiration as to the manner in which some of our most pressing social problems should be taken in hand.

The Parish and Play is somewhat misleading in its title. The subtitle, *Some Notes on the Boy Problem*, is more appropriate, but that too is inadequate. The work is a careful and capable study of the problem of recreation for boys in all its varied phases.

In many respects the recreational influences are the most formative in a boy's life. At recreation the boy acts spontaneously in a manner which would not be possible for him while subject to the control of parents and teachers. The habits, therefore, and the traits of character which are developed at the time of recreation, being the most congenial and in a sense the most native to his disposition, are most calculated to exert a permanent influence on his after-life. When in addition one considers the fact, rightly stressed by Dr. Furfey, that boys have an average of 8 or 9 hours a day of leisure time, it is easy to understand the extreme importance attached to the problem of suitable recreation.

By a number of accurate and convincing tests the disastrous effects of leisure time for which no suitable recreational facilities had been provided, are fully established. "If we are wise enough to provide plenty of opportunities for wholesome play, the boys will find their physical activity and excitement there. If we do not provide such facilities, they will get their thrills anyway, but they will get them in ways distinctly uncomfortable to the community at large" (p. 13). "No pastor is doing his full duty to the young if the boys have no place except the streets to play in after school hours, no leaders to direct their spare-time activities except the loafers on the street corner" (p. 16).

Dr. Furfey's suggestions about enlisting the services of teachers in connection with recreation schemes, making the school buildings and grounds as far as possible available for recreation outside school hours, and in general establishing a very close bond between education and recreation, deserve the most serious consideration of the priests, teachers and educational authorities in this country.

As the title indicates, *An Introduction to Social Work* is wider in its scope. It deals with the entire question of social service, which however the author approaches candidly from the Catholic point of view. From a variety of causes, all perhaps accidental in themselves, but of unfailing regularity in their effects, it happens that in every country a considerable number of people are always inadequately provided for according to the ordinary working of the social and industrial organisation. For this the Church has always been profoundly concerned. As time went on, it became apparent that mere haphazard provision for the different classes of necessitous cases was not sufficient. Hence the necessity of organising her regular charitable activities to supplement the normal machinery of the state.

> The Church in the United States realizes that she is facing exceedingly complicated social problems. In order to meet these problems, she feels the need of systematic diocese-wide organisations. The systematic diocesan organisations bring together all the charitable organisations of the diocese under the immediate direction of the respective bishops. With their trained personnel, the diocesan organisations can keep in close touch with the various problems in the diocese. They can foster new developments when such are needed. They can bring the work of existing organisations up to the best standards ; they can prevent overlapping and duplication of effort between the various Catholic organisations and institutions and can speak authoritatively for the Church in various social movements of a general character (pp. 19-20).

Agencies for charitable and social service are so numerous in America that it is easy to understand how necessary it is, in the interests of efficiency as well as to prevent overlapping, that cordial understanding and co-operation should exist amongst them all. To this end Dr. O'Grady's book will prove a storehouse of invaluable information. And it is more ; it is a perfectly balanced study of the actual situation as regards the need of social service, and of the extent and effectiveness with which that need is being met. Dr. O'Grady has his own strong views as to the need of social work, and long practical experience leaves him well qualified to pronounce on the merits of the various schemes that may be adopted or suggested. Yet he is singularly free from dogmatism or prejudice. He shows the tolerance and

appreciative understanding of the work of others which is always characteristic of the one who is a genuine worker himself.

There is one paragraph in this book which appears to be of so much practical importance for us in this country that even at the end of a notice already too long I feel constrained to call attention to it. "We frequently find in our cities certain types of organisations that use the name of charity as a means of preying on the charitably inclined public. It is to the interest of reputable organisations engaged in charitable work that the public should be protected against these frauds. In order to protect the public against fraudulent schemes masquerading in the name of charity, indorsement committees of one kind or another have been established in the various cities of the United States during the past three decades" (p. 374). With us certainly it is high time that something was done to protect the charitable public from indiscriminate appeals. It is not so much that the appeals are fraudulent—although such are by no means unknown and the public have no secure way of detecting them—it is the egregious want of proportion about some of them. For purely local objects appeals are sent out *urbi et orbi*, and so touchingly worded that they meet a response quite beyond their merits or needs. Deserving charities suffer in consequence, and unless something is done to prevent it, to a greater and greater extent charitable funds will be given in proportion to the efficiency of the collecting machinery rather than in proportion to the merits of the charitable objects themselves. The Indorsement Committees seem perfectly sound in principle, and I am quite confident it would be possible to adapt them to suit our special needs and conditions. J. K.

GRUNDZUGE DER BORSENMORAL. Von Oswald v. Nell-Breuning, S.J. Freiburg im B.: Herder. 1928. pp. xx + 225. M. 7 (paper); M.8.50 (cloth).

This volume is a study in applied ethics. The author, a sociologist of some standing in Catholic circles in Germany and Austria, attempts the difficult task of analysing the moral nature of money-market transactions and of laying down certain guiding principles of conduct for those engaged in such transactions. While of general application, it is natural that the work will make a stronger appeal to Catholics than to others. Fr. N.-Breuning clearly possesses the requisite theoretical knowledge both of the moral and of the economic side of his subject to be able to handle it as a master. His conclusions, as can only be expected and precisely

because they are eminently orthodox, are neither original nor challenging. Indeed, at first, the reader has a certain feeling of being somewhat cheated: he finds that his four or five hours of stiff reading has yielded him little more than what he had learned years ago in his catechism—"Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." He will, it is true (if he is not already by study familiar with moral theology or has not by nature a cynical turn of mind), be astonished how often and how completely a financier can change his spots and still remain an undoubted thief. And he if reads between the lines, he will also learn what a small part cynicism plays in the composition of Fr. N.-Breuning, who seems to believe that any little moral back-sliding which occurs on the world's money-markets is due more to inadvertence than to malice, and that those mysterious beings who constitute "International Finance" need but to be shown the path of justice to love it and to follow it: *maxima coeli porta est ignorantia.*

The book begins with an endeavour to determine what is a "just price." Nearly fifty pages of analysis and reasoning, supported by copious authorities, deal with the matter. So far the lay reader, if he be a stout fellow of good heart and exert himself, will penetrate—with difficulty, indeed, but with profit. The next 150 pages will prove a labyrinth for all but the specialist: dealing as they do with price-formation on the Exchanges, speculation in its moral and economic implications, and such things as "futures," "options," and "contango." This portion of the book, besides being tough, has too strong an academic flavour to be relished except by a trained *gourmand.*

The book is sadly marred by three serious blots. First and most serious, it is through and through doctrinaire: displaying a faith and hope in, and a love for, those naked metaphysical abstractions in whose rash application to civil society Burke rightly saw the greatest danger to human peace, prosperity and happiness. Fr. N.-Breuning seems to write from the lofty, calm regions of some Olympus of the speculative world, careless of mankind. We cannot but think that a more useful and a more interesting book would have resulted, if the author, relying less on his formidable list of printed authorities, had come down into the market-place and talked over his ideas with the plain brokers and business-men engaged in these exchange transactions. Secondly, it is surprising that such an author could not have restrained a veritable passion for technical terms and legal definitions, a pedantic display of fireworks which is wholly unnecessary to the analysis or proper

understanding of the questions in hand—indeed obscuring rather than clarifying the issues and, we fear, securing that many readers will lay down an otherwise useful book in sheer disgust. Thirdly, a minor point perhaps, the style in which the book is written lacks nothing of the difficulty which foreigners, rightly or wrongly, attribute to all German scientific works. When we say that the reader will find his trouble in reading this book to some degree repaid, no one who has not read it will appreciate what high praise we award it. E. J. C.

Miscellaneous

THE IRISH DRAMA (1896-1928). By Andrew E. Malone. London: Constable. 1929. 15s. net.

A FASCINATING subject admirably treated. In this book Mr. Malone has himself rendered a very notable service to a cause in which it is obvious he is deeply interested. He gives us in the main the history of the Abbey Theatre, with glances to the right and left at other activities of like character but of minor order. If genius be an infinite capacity for taking pains, then the author of this book is a genius. Genius is, of course, something much more and other than this, and Mr. Malone's claim for recognition under this head stands on the loftier grounds. He reviews the entire Dramatic movement from its start in 1899, and there is no aspect of it which he does not consider. Authors, actors, audiences—he deals with each. The plays he examines at length. One may or may not agree with Mr. Malone's views on all these matters—these are questions for individual judgment—but his taste, his fairness, his moderation are beyond dispute. To the reader interested in this theme probably no book dealing with it would seem dull; but when we have one written in the excellent style for which the author is noted, it is no exaggeration to say that it would be difficult to discover a single page that does not provide pleasure for the peruser.

Of course, it is a wonderful story, almost a "wonder" story. We are carried back to the drab days of 1899 when the *Countess Cathleen* provoked the first quarrel on artistic or aesthetic matters that had stirred Ireland for centuries. Not that anyone—or at least none save a few—saw that art was anywhere involved. Brave days when Catholic Young Ireland hissed hostility from the gallery of the Antient Concert Rooms. A few years later and the Abbey Theatre is the arena, *The Playboy* the cause of trouble. Years roll on and *The Piper* and *The Plough and the Stars* excite commotion. One verdict may be passed on each

and all of these "scenes"—authors and audiences were at cross-purposes. So much may be gleaned from Mr. Malone's restrained account of these episodes.

The author treats of three distinct epochs in the history of the Irish Drama—The Irish Literary Theatre 1899 to 1903; The Subsidised Theatre 1904 to 1910; and The Irish National Theatre 1911 to 1928, and he concludes with a chapter on its future. George Moore's comment is caustic and characteristic: "We all did something, but none did what he set out to do. Yeats founded a realistic theatre." Such was the end of an enterprise that started out to be "definitely and defiantly literary." For that enterprise in all its varying phases Mr. Malone has a deep admiration, although he does not hesitate to criticise severely when necessary. Thus he says of that self-opinionated gentleman Mr. St. John Ervine: "He lectured actors, dramatists, and audiences in the pontifical manner which has since become so widely known to large numbers of people outside Ireland"; and later: "A preoccupation with the merely sectarian bigotry of Belfast Orangism is not one of the best qualifications of a critic . . . . "

However, as Mr. Malone deals with every name big and small connected with the movement, it is impossible to quote his allusions at any length; but it is pleasant to mention that he gives due meed to the brothers Fay, by whom it may be said that the idea conceived by Yeats was brought to birth and nurtured through its infant years. All this he does, nothing extenuating nor setting down aught in malice. Yet he says very truly that "sometimes it seems that only the most extreme opinions can be entertained about Ireland or about anything Irish; at the very mention of the word Ireland passions are unleashed . . . . . " So it is with the Abbey Theatre and the Irish Dramatic movement. Extravagant praise—much of it self-praise—and extravagant abuse have been and still are poured on the Abbey and all its works and pomps. Mr. Malone keeps his balance admirably, and if he should seem to swerve a little now and again who shall blame him? The book is written in a kindly, generous spirit, but there is nothing flabby withal.

In a second impression Mr. Malone would do well to see that the date of Easter Monday 1916 is given as April 24th, not April 25th.

W. D.

LA SPIRITUALITE CHRETIENNE. Vol. IV. Du Jansénisme à nos Jours. Par le R. P. Pourrat. Paris : Lecoffre. 1928. 25 francs.

THIS volume completes Père Pourrat's history of Christian Spirituality. It is a really wonderful work, to write a history of Catholic devotion from Calvary to our own days. The jibe "*Compendia sunt dispendia*" has no bite here, for the four volumes are packed with matter, with ample references and aids to further study. The author's viewpoint on disputed questions is eminently moderate and judicious.

The present volume deals chiefly with Jansenism and Quietism. French spirituality from the time of the controversy "*De auxiliis*" to the present day gets, as we might expect, the lion's share of space. Still Italian, Spanish and English spirituality have their chapters in this interesting and very instructive volume.

As far as it is concerned with France the ground covered is much the same as that dealt with by the Abbé Bremond in his monumental literary history of religious sentiment in France, but the tone is less literary and more reserved. One rather fancies that the Abbé Bremond would regard Père Pourrat as an "asceticist"!

The Quietist controversy covers about seven chapters of the volume, starting with the precursors of Quietism and ending with the rout of the "mystics" by the Jansenists. It is very well documented, and we get a wealth of quotations and references not readily found elsewhere. The author throughout maintains an armed neutrality towards mysticism. Bossuet in mystical theology, like Descartes in philosophy, has left an indelible mark on the French mind; it can never get away from the ultimate value of the "clear idea" or cease to look on mystical experience as a phenomenon in the conceptual order. Hence the tendency to confuse mystical contemplation with infused knowledge of a charismatic type with all the logical consequences which follow from such a theory.

The critique of Jansenist spirituality is very valuable and admirably stated. Jansenist devotion survived much longer than Jansenist dogmatism. At the time of Emancipation our Irish spirituality was largely Jansenist, and it endured almost to the day when Pius X issued the decree of daily Communion.

JOHN HOWLEY.

LEVITATION. An Examination of the Evidence and Explanations. By Olivier Leroy. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1928. Pp. xiv + 276. 10s. 6d. net.

IT may be assumed that M. Leroy's purpose in this volume is mainly apologetic. With praiseworthy diligence he has collected from the *Acta Sanctorum* and other sources a considerable number of examples of levitation—*i.e.*, of cases in which saints or holy people in the ardour of their devotional rapture are alleged to have been lifted bodily from the ground. Comparing and contrasting these with other instances of the same type of phenomenon recorded of magicians, fakirs, demoniacs, spiritualistic mediums, etc., M. Leroy concludes that the occurrence of such levitations is an undeniable fact. The law of gravitation therefore is subject to interference by a cause "heterogeneous to every natural force," and the reader is invited to accept the traditional teaching of Catholic theology that levitation is either "a divine marvel or a diabolic trickery."

In the interest of anti-materialist apologetic we fully recognise the value of such a demonstration, but we have our doubts whether the method followed by the author is that best adapted to bring conviction. In the book before us the comparatively few cases in which the evidence is unassailable are swamped by the mass of examples which are evidentially worthless. So far from strengthening the argument, the accumulation of unverifiable instances which are based on mere hearsay is likely to make a bad impression. The critical reader will feel that he is living in an atmosphere of old wives' tales.

M. Leroy is laudably scrupulous in giving chapter and verse for each fact alleged. But it is not reassuring to find that one of the authorities most frequently cited by him is Dr. Imbert Gourbeyre's *Stigmatisation* and that another is Görres' *Mystik*. Both of these enthusiasts wrote in perfect good faith, but from the historian's point of view they are quite uncritical. Whatever they find recorded in a pious biography they set down as fact, never attempting to probe deeper into the biographer's sources of information. Even the Bollandists when printing the Life of a Saint by no means guarantee its accuracy. They try to give the best Life available, but their materials are often unsatisfactory and have sometimes been superseded by later discoveries. For example a passage in the account they published of Blessed Agnes of Bohemia states the exact number of inches she was raised from the ground in prayer. M. Leroy has quoted the Latin text. But this Life was based on an older one which has come

to light in recent years, and here it is only said that Agnes "divinis desideriis inardescens pennis contemplationis supra se levabatur," a metaphorical statement which by no means requires us to believe that she was physically supported in the air. M. Leroy realises that his materials need to be sifted; but he has left the sifting for the reader to do, and this, it seems to us, is a tactical mistake. H. T.

Shorter Notices

THE PARABLES OF OUR LORD. Elucidated according to the mind of the Church, by M. J. Ollivier, O.P. Translated by E. Leahy. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1928. 7s. 6d.

I CANNOT, perhaps, better describe Père Ollivier's book on the Parables than by contrasting his treatment of this great subject with the treatment of it by two other Catholic writers—Father Leopold Fonck, S.J. and Father Basil Maturin. The former's monumental work is German in its painstaking thoroughness, its laborious accumulation of erudite detail, its searching but rather uninspiring analysis. Father Maturin considers the Parables almost solely in their bearing on our own lives: he is thinking of their significance for all time, their message to the mind and heart of man. Père Ollivier approaches them in a different way. Those who know his great book on the Passion will be familiar with his manner. It consists in weaving all the data of the Gospels into a smoothly flowing narrative, often dramatic and always living. He has been at pains to replace the Parables in their original setting, vividly evoking their Palestinian environment of the first century B.C. He has freely called to his aid the historical imagination but without allowing fancy to stray far beyond the bounds of the sacred text. The austere bareness of the Gospel narrative is clothed, as it were, in flowing coloured robes. It is the French method at its best. All who do not read French may well be grateful to the translator who has done her work most competently and to the publisher who has made it available. S. J. B.

LA DIVINE DOULEUR. By Francis Jammes. Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1929. 12 fr.

THE short sketches which compose this volume all deal with the hidden or the unexpected sorrows and tragedies of life which so frequently reveal its spiritual significance. And for the most part they are drawn from that peasant and *petite bourgeoisie* life of Southern France with which M. Jammes has made himself so familiar during his long residence within sight of the Pyrenees. Some of the stories may appear trivial on the surface, and others a little over-sentimental, but they all illustrate those aspects of humble life, its poverty, its sufferings, its injustice, which yet can be illumined by Christian faith. His stories of conversions are written with a direct simplicity that compels conviction, but perhaps it is his "Pélerin de Lourdes" which is typical of Jammes at his best—so vivid in its characterisation, so absolute in its faith. V. M. C.

SOUS LES FEUX DE CEYLAN. Par Le R. P. Duchaussois, Oblat de Marie Immaculée. Paris: Bernard Grasset. 1929. Pp. 381.

ON a certain day, a little more than five years ago, Father Pierre Duchaussois, O.M.I. received from his Superior General, Mgr. Dontenwill, the command to lay aside his Arctic furs, unstrap his snow-shoes, and bidding farewell to

the great North West Canadian Missions of the Oblate Fathers, and Brothers, and the *Soeurs Grises*—whose epic he has written in an immortal trilogy (*Aux Glaces Polaires, Apôtres Inconnus, Femmes Heróïques*)—to report at Marseilles. There he was to take ship in an eastbound liner for the tropic splendours—and miseries—of Ceylon.

Almost eighty years previously (in 1847) the pioneers of the Oblate Missions in Ceylon had preceded him on that route. Sent by their founder, Mgr. de Mazenod, in the very year when his Congregation (canonically recognised in 1926) had attained its majority, a little band of four, under the direction of Father Semeria, had set out to the aid of Mgr. Bettachini, an Italian Oratorian, in maintaining the old Portuguese Missions—sadly undermined by the Goanese schism and tragically decimated by pestilence—and to bring the knowledge of Christ to the pagan Cingalese and Tamouls along the fever haunted torrid littoral or among the terrors of the savage jungle.

Among Father Semeria's three companions there was an Irishman, Father Keating; and in all the labours and sufferings and triumphs of the eight decades whose story is told in Father Duchaussois's latest classic of the Missions Irish names are well to the fore. Murphys, O'Flanagans, Mac Carthys, Dunnes, Lanagans, Burkes, Byrnes, Fitzpatricks, Walshs, Conways, Dowlings, etc., meet us on every page—and bespeak in Ireland a specially warm welcome for this splendid book, which we may with perfect justice acclaim as a *Chanson de Geste* of the Gael—as well as of the Gaul.

It is a doubtful compliment to say of a book that it is "as interesting as a novel." Very few novels are half so enthralling as this delightful book of Father Duchaussois. How could they be? In the first place he has found in the missionary annals of his brethern, under the fiery blaze of the tropic sun, as before in the great white silences of the Arctic Circle, a marvellous tale to tell—such as comes within the ken of only a rare novelist. And against what a marvellous *décor* he unrolls his tale. All the splendour and romance of "Sri Lanka," the island of jewelled light, of orient flowers and perfumes, are in his pages: the pearl-like loveliness of the dawn clouds above Adam's Peak; the evening hour (alas! too fleeting) that brings stray breezes from the reopened gate of the vanished earthly paradise; the teeming life of Eastern cities; the dark mysterious shuddering fascinations of the jungle. He has caught them all in pages that make this book worthy to rank as a classic of the Missions, side by side with the first book that revealed him as a master, *Aux Glaces Polaires*. I can think of no higher praise. HELENA CONCANNON.

FLOUR, WHEAT AND TARIFFS. By Professor Alfred O'Rahilly. Dublin: Eason. 1928. 1s.

THIS pungent pamphlet of 100 pages was originally intended to be a reply to the *Report on Application for a Tariff on Flour* issued last year by the Irish Free State Tariff Commission; but in its present form it is a collection of essays on the subject of protection for wheat and flour in Ireland, Switzerland, Norway and Denmark. As a reasoned statement of the case for protection for Irish millers the reply is effective. The author's argument, though sometimes *ad hominen*, is convincing, and his logic, if trenchant, is sound.

Indeed the reader of these essays will wonder why, if any commodities are to be protected in Ireland, home-milled flour is not the very first on the list. Even the time-honoured objection to the dearer loaf loses half its force when Professor O'Rahilly sets against it the many counterbalancing advantages which would flow from a resuscitation of our agriculture. For much more is involved than the price of bread and the welfare of the millers. The bakers, according to the author, can be kept in check by a judicious application of the government's powers to control retail prices, and the

millers must at best be a comparatively small body; but the effect upon rural Ireland of a revived milling industry are incalculable.

Professor O'Rahilly has rendered good service to the cause of clear thinking on the subject of protective tariffs in general in showing that the question of tariffs is something more than a problem in abstract economics, and much more than a problem in party politics. He has cleared away a great deal of the confusion which besets this subject for the ordinary man, particularly in demonstrating that each political community would be wise to approach it with a lively sense of its own special circumstances and needs. The pamphlet is timely, and the very model of what such a pamphlet should be. M. D.

Books also received:—

AGNEL, G. ARNAUD D'	Le Scrupule. Comment le prévenir? Comment le guérir? (Téqui, 15 fr.)
[ANONYMOUS] ...	La Confession et la Communion des Petits Enfants. (Aubanel Frères, fr. 0.75).
ATKINS, GAIUS G. ...	The Making of the Christian Mind. (Heinemann, 8/6).
BARBIER, L. ...	La Loi Morale fondée sur l'étude comparée des deux natures de l'homme. (Aubanel Frères, 5 fr.).
BARCLAY, VERA ...	Good Scouting. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
BARDY, G.	La Littérature latine chrétienne. (Bloud & Gay, 10 fr.).
BARRET, L.	Manuel d'Adoration du Très Saint Sacrement. (Téqui, 5 fr.).
BELLOC, HILAIRE ...	Joan of Arc. (Cassell, 6/-).
	Survivals and New Arrivals. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
BESNARD, JEAN ...	Huit Instructions pour une Retraite aux Enfants. (Aubanel Frères, 4 fr.).
BIBESCO, PRINCESSE ...	Noblesse de Robe. (Grasset, 12 fr.).
BOTTOMLEY, GORDON	Scenes and Plays. (Constable, 6/-).
BOUNIOL, J.	The White Fathers and their Missions. (Sands, 3/6).
BROSNAN, J. BRODIE ...	What is Sacrificial Immolation? (Sands, 3/6).
BURNS, A. C. ...	History of Nigeria. (Allen & Unwin, 15/-).
BYRON, ROBERT ...	The Byzantine Achievement. Routledge, 15/-).
CHARLES, HENRI ...	Syrie. Jésuites Missionnaires. (Beauchesne, 10 fr.).
CHASLES, PIERRE ...	La Vie de Lénine. (Plon, 12 fr.).
CORDONNIER, CANON ...	The Blessed Virgin. Her Times, Life, Virtues. (Sands, 5/-).
COWAN, ANDREW ...	War in World-History. (Longmans, 6/-).
DAWSON, CHRISTOPHER	Progress and Religion. Historical Enquiry. (Sheed & Ward, 10/6.)
DECOULS, ABBE V. ...	L'Evangile et les Mères. (Aubanel Fils, 9 fr.).
DELARUE, LUCIE ...	Sainte Thérèse of Lisieux. Introduction by Michael Williams. (Longmans, 7/6).
DONAT, J.	Critica. (Ed. 5–6, S 5.40); Cosmologia (Ed. 4–5, S 7.50).
	Theodicea. (Ed. 5–6, S 5.40); Index generalis (S 2.40). (Innsbruck: Rauch).
DUCHAUSSOIS, R. P. ...	Sous les Feux de Ceylan. (Grasset, pp. 381).
EATON, ROBERT ...	The Benedictines of Colwich, 1829–1929. (Sands, 6/-).
EHRHARD, R. P. ...	Le Sens de la Vie. (Aubanel Frères, 15 fr.).
ELKINGTON, MARGERY	Les Relations de Société entre l'Angleterre et la France sous la Restoration, 1814–1830. (Champion).
FORSTER, JOHN L. ...	The Holy Mass Worthily Offered. (Burns Oates & W. 4/6).
FREDIANI, D. G. ...	Pio XI. (Roma: Marchesi, L. 7).
GALY, A.	L'Ami des Pécheurs. (Téqui, 10 fr.).
GERTRUDE, SISTER M. R.	Renouncement in Dante. (Longmans, 7/6).
GIBBONS MARGARET ...	Little Nellie of Holy God. A Model for First Communicants. (Sands, 3/6).
GOODIER, ARCHBISHOP	About the Old Testament. (Burns Oates & Washbourne, 4/6).
GOUGAUD, LOUIS ...	Modern Research. With Special Reference to early Irish Ecclesiastical History. (Hodges Figgis, pp. 58).
GWYNN, DENIS ...	A Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation. (Longmans, 10/6).
HARAK, BOHUSLAV ...	Year Book of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1929. (Prague: "Orbis," pp. 328).
HASBROUCK, ALFRED ...	Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish S. America (King, 27/–).
HERRON, SISTER M. E.	The Sisters of Mercy in the United States, 1843–1928. (Macmillan, $ 5.00).
HOBSON, BULMER ...	A Book of Dublin, Official Handbook published by the Corporation of Dublin. (1/-).
HOWLETT, MGR. ...	Catholic Emancipation. A Lecture. (Sands, 4/-).
IBANEZ DE IBERO, C.	Le Spectateur Passionné. (Editions le Livre Libre, 10 fr.).

JAMMES, FRANCIS ...	La Divine Douleur. (Bloud & Gay, 12 fr.).
JANSEN, BERNHARD ...	Die Religionsphilosophie Kants. (Ferd. Dummeler, M. 6.50).
JOERGENSEN, JOHANNES	An Autobiography. Vol. II. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
JONES, DOROTHY ...	Minor Works of Walter Hilton. Orchard Books, No. 17. (Burns Oates & Washbourne, 5/-).
KELLEHER, D. L. ...	Ireland of the Welcomes. (Irish Tourist Association, 1/-).
LABOISE, CHANOINE ...	Dévotions liturgiques spéciales aux Paroisses. (Aubanel Fils, 6 fr. 60).
LAMA, F. RITTER VON	Papst Pius XI. (Augsburg: Haas & Grabherr, M. 8).
LATOURETTE, KENNETH	History of Christian Missions in China. (S.P.C.K., 18/-).
LAURENT, CHANOINE ...	Directoire pratique pour le Clergé. (Téqui, 10 fr.).
LOWRIE, WALTER ...	Jesus according to St. Mark. An Interpretation of St. Mark's Gospel. (Longmans, 20/-).
MAHONEY, E. J. ...	The Jubilee Indulgence 1929. (Burns Oates & Washbourne, 8d.)
MARTINDALE, C. C. ...	The Wounded World. Course of Sermons. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
MILLOT, J.	Une Histoire pour chaque jour du Mois de Marie. (Téqui, 9 fr.).
MOUTESSORI, MARIA ...	The Child in the Church. Essays on the Religious Education of Children. (Sands, 5/-).
MOURRET, E. ...	La Papauté. (Bloud & Gay, 10 fr.).
NOVELLI A.	Pie XI. Achille Ratti, 1857–1922. (Bonne Presse, 5 fr.).
O BRIAIN, BARRA ...	The Irish Constitution. (Talbot Press, 7/6).
ORR, J. B.	Iodine in Nutrition. (H. M. Stationery Office, 2/6).
PARSONS, WILFRID ...	The Pope and Italy. (America Press, pp. 134).
PASTOR LUDWIG VON	The History of the Popes. Vol. XVII. Puis V., 1566–1572. (Kegan Paul, 15/-).
PINTO, V. DE SOLA ...	The Tree of Life. An Anthology. (Constable, 8/6).
POLLARD, A. F. ...	Wolsey. (Longmans, 21/-).
PRESTAGE, EDGAR ...	The Chronicles of Fernao Lopes and Gomes Eannes de Zurara. (Watford: Voss & Michael, 10/6).
PRIBILLA, MAX ...	Um kirchliche Einheit. Stockholm, Lausanne, Rom. (Herder, M. 8.50 (paper), M. 10 (cloth.).
RAVENNES, JEAN ...	Marie de Jérusalem. (Plon, 15 fr.).
ROBSON, E. ILIFF ...	Alexander the Great. (Cape, 7/6).
ROVERE, LA ...	Le Laïcisme. (Aubanel Frères, 4 fr.).
SAUDREAU, AUGUSTE ...	Mystical Prayer according to St. Jane de Chantal. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
	Mystical Prayer according to St. Francis de Sales. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).
SCHUSTER, ILDEFONSO	The Sacramentary. (Liber Sacramentorum). Historical and Liturgical Notes on the Missal. Vol. IV. (Burns Oates & Washbourne, 15/-).
SEITZ, DON C. ...	The James Gordon Bennetts. (Bobbs-Merrill Co., $ 5.00).
SHEEN, FULTON ...	The Life of all Living. Philosophy of Life. (Century Co., $1.75).
STEFFES, JOHANN P. ...	Religion und Politik. (Herder, M. 7.40).
STURZO, LUIGI ...	The International Community and the Right of War. (Allen & Unwin, 10/-).
THOMSON, GEORGE ...	Greek Lyric Metre. (Cambridge University Press, 12/6).
VALLET, AUGUSTE ...	Lourdes. Comment interpréter ses guérisons. (Téqui, 10 fr.)
VAUSSARD, M. ...	Le Carmel. (Grasset, 12 fr.).
WILBY, NOEL MAC D.	The Story of Blessed John Fisher. (Burns Oates & W. 3/6).
WINKLER, JOHN K. ...	William Randolph Hearst. (Cape, 15/-).
WRONG, G. M. ...	The Rise and Fall of New France. 2 vols. (Macmillan, 42/-).
YOUNG, ARTHUR ...	Travels in France during the Years 1787–1789. Edited by Constantia Maxwell. (Cambridge University Press, 12/6).

Catholic Emancipation, 1829–1929. A Collection of Essays by various Writers. (Longmans, 10/6).

A Retreat under the Guidance of Saint Teresa. Drawn from her writings by Mother Mary of the Blessed Sacrament. (Burns Oates & Washbourne, 7/6).

Sept Retraites. Par Mère Elizabeth de la Croix. (Lethielleux, 18 fr.).

Collectio ex Rituali Romano. (Gill, 6/-).

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